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Lydia Baer / Raabe's and Wiechert's Novel Trilogies

Frank D. Hirschbach / The Education of Hans Castorp

Harry Zohn and M. C. Davis / Johann Christoph Wagenseil, Polymath

Personalia for 1953-54

News and Notes

Book Reviews



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ERNST JÜNGER: NORSE MYTHS AND NIHILISM

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In three recent books Ernst Jünger has dealt with the problem of nihilism in the world of today. In the first two, *Über die Linie* (1950) and *Der Waldgang* (1951), the problem is treated directly in essays. The third, *Besuch auf Godenholm* (1952), appears in narrative form, but is essentially also a treatise. Even as narrative it is mainly an attempt to dramatize and illustrate the theory of the preceding books. *Über die Linie* is primarily concerned with analyzing the nature of nihilism and the scope of the problem it presents. *Der Waldgang* is intended as a handbook or guide for the individual in the midst of the conditions outlined in the earlier book and assumes a more practical and political form. Taken together the three books represent Ernst Jünger's attempt to diagnose the problem of nihilism and suggest ways and means of coping with it. All three emphasize the necessity of facing the situation as it is and accepting the course of events as inevitable. In stressing the inevitability of the march of events Jünger looks forward to a "magic nadir," the point at which present tendencies will have reached their most acute form. The passage over this nadir may seem drastic and painful, but no essentials will be lost and life "across the line" will have familiar and recognizable features. A single quotation from *Besuch auf Godenholm*, the book with which we are chiefly concerned, will not only illustrate this theme succinctly but also underline Jünger's message in this theory, namely that he who grasps the process thoroughly will not be afraid: "Die Zeit war umgekehrt wie eine Sanduhr, doch blieb erhalten, was durch die Taille, was durch den Nullpunkt ging — nicht nur erhalten, sondern zugleich vom Ballast der Überlieferung befreit. Es ging nicht verloren, was in den Atomen war. Wer das erfaßte, dem kam die Furcht abhanden, ja, er erkannte, daß sie notwendig zum großen Umtrieb ist" (99).

The name "Godenholm" itself is of some significance, since it means "chieftain's island." This island is located in the far North geographically, at the center of the wheel of time symbolically. The visit to the chieftain's isle is not the first time that Jünger has turned his attention

to the North. In 1943 he published *Myrdun*, letters from his trip to Norway of the summer of 1935. The germs of several ideas prominent in *Godenholm* are present in this book. Celsus, the doctor whom he visited, has obviously supplied several traits for Schwarzenberg. The turn from diagnosis to therapy, from analysis to constructive cure, has been made by this doctor, who is in many ways a foil and contrast to the figure of Moltner in *Godenholm*. Of Celsus it is said: "Er meinte auch, daß man im höchsten Norden ein neues und ungeahntes Bewußtsein von Freiheit gewinnt." In sentences like the following one can see that the roots of *Godenholm* reach far back in Jünger's imagination: "Ich glaube auch, daß man ganz allgemein das Gesetz aufstellen kann, daß der Süden an uns zehrt, während der Norden uns mit Kräften versieht. . . . Es lebt in diesem Lande ein verborgener Reichtum, der gleichsam erwartet, daß man ihn hebt. Daher glaube ich auch, daß das Land der geistigen Arbeit günstig ist. Gerade hierüber habe ich mich oft mit dem Magister unterhalten, und wir besiedelten wenigstens in der Phantasie die Täler und Küsten mit etwa zwanzig kleinen Blockhäusern für denkende Eremiten."

In *Godenholm* the pilgrimage to the Nordic magus Schwarzenberg, who dwells on the chieftain's isle as a sort of "denkender Eremit," is made by two friends shortly after the Second World War: Einar, an archeologist interested in relics of the Germanic past, and Moltner, a psychiatrist concerned with the aberrations of the modern mind and himself suffering from that feeling of lack which is characteristic of a stage of nihilism. For a time after the war Moltner had tried to find solace in the church. After the failure of this quest he had turned to modern American and French authors, but without finding a cure for his feeling of emptiness and drift. Einar's archeology does not fill his life, for as a patriotic German he is suffering still from the fate of Germany and is also filled with a sense of drift. The two men undertake the trip to Godenholm to seek therapeutic treatment at the hands of Schwarzenberg, a healer, physician, thinker, and mystic magus, from whom power and influence radiate. The visit on the isle is climaxed by a mystic séance which seems to effect a cure for both visitors. They depart filled with a new sense of the significance of life to take up again their careers. Their feeling of emptiness and loss of values — the main symptom of nihilism — has been replaced by new and refreshing insights into their own natures and into the nature of power.

Even this brief outline of the book will suffice to indicate its connection with *Über die Linie* and *Der Waldgang*. Many themes and thoughts are carried over from one essay to the next in such a way that the three works may be considered together. This overlapping in content is accompanied by the use in all three of several special terms which are immediately intelligible to students of Jünger, but which

might easily be less meaningful upon first contact with the author. It would seem that the audience to be reached consists primarily of those who have studied his previous works. To let one example suffice for many, consider the term "Werkstättenstil," which is used in *Über die Linie*. This immediately recalls to readers of *Der Arbeiter* his description of the so-called "Werkstättenlandschaft," a term denoting the complete domination of a landscape by the paraphernalia of technology, but one which is surely less rich in associations for those who have not read *Der Arbeiter*. Not all allusions go back so far; many are merely cross-references among the three books with which we are dealing, for example, the key phrase "across the line." In some cases the same idea is communicated by two different words, e.g. "Wildnis" in *Über die Linie* is equivalent to "Wald" in *Der Waldgang*. At times considerable knowledge of a previous work is presupposed as in the case of the reference in *Godenholm* to the Chief Forester of *Auf den Marmorklippen*, who is the embodiment of demonic power and a thinly veiled portrait of Hitler. Some of these cross-references are useful, some are only playful, as for example the name Schwarzenberg of *Godenholm*, which is of course a translation of the Nigromontanus of *Das abenteuerliche Herz* and *Heliopolis*.

Since Jünger presupposes a thorough knowledge of his previous works he permits himself many cryptic allusions and elliptical formulations, the keys to which lie scattered throughout his writings. It becomes necessary therefore to read the books in sequence. Behind this there is certainly the intention to write only for the initiated. An atmosphere of conspiracy and mystery is intentionally created, although sometimes at the risk of a Delphic obscurity. Jünger usually suggests without defining and alludes without delineating. The short, precise statements and the neat formulations lend an oracular tone to the books in question. In *Godenholm* he uses an elaborate apparatus of visions, symbols, allegorical apparitions and even incense, which is calculated in part to mystify, in part to edify. A large part of the book is carefully staged to mirror the hypnotic effect produced on Einar and Moltner. All the suggestive trappings and séance hocus-pocus are apparently considered necessary by Jünger as the appropriate environment of a magus such as Schwarzenberg. Some of this paraphernalia is functional, since it serves Jünger's purpose of recapturing ancient Germanic mythic splendor. The reader of *Das Haus der Briefe* (1951; a chapter from the *Heliopolis* material) will recognize here in a different setting but serving an analogous purpose an antiquarian urge which has been becoming stronger and stronger in Jünger since the second version of *Das abenteuerliche Herz*. This conflicts of course with the desire to get rid of the "ballast of tradition." But this is but one of several conflicts in intention in this group of books. Both *Godenholm* and *Das Haus der Briefe* reveal the same desire for fixed

ritual and for an ordered and caste-conscious society which will live by this ritual in a functional setting. In such a setting the power of a magus may be felt to its fullest extent. The Prince of *Heliopolis* radiated personality; he was alleged to be almost literally magnetic in his power of attraction. This is said to be true also of Schwarzenberg, but since the latter is also the bearer of a new teaching and of esoteric knowledge he is shrouded in mystery more like the Regent of *Heliopolis* and appears on the stage in a manner which reminds one more of a spiritualist séance than a laboratory demonstration. Yet Jünger emphasizes the laboratory setting and spirit of *Godenholm*, partly no doubt because of his desire to create the impression that Schwarzenberg is operating scientifically.

Since both *Über die Linie* and *Der Waldgang* contain summaries of their contents it will not be necessary to outline these tracts nor to pursue the development of his ideas in them in their sequence. It will suffice to point out that Jünger's style has become sharper and more brittle, his formulations more concise and epigrammatic, and his sentences shorter than in his early great critical work, *Der Arbeiter*. In *Der Waldgang* especially, his construction of the individual paragraphs is superb. Each paragraph is well introduced so that it dovetails with the preceding one, and most paragraphs end with an epigrammatic "punch line." Although both essays are more tightly constructed than *Der Arbeiter*, the technique, especially in *Der Waldgang*, is similar, that is, Jünger goes round and round the problem, viewing it from all sides. In this way he gives more a series of perspectives than an ascending or climactic analysis. This succession of perspectives is, however, much more than a matter of style. For perspective, or to use Jünger's favorite term, optics, is a key word in his vocabulary. In *Über die Linie* the word "Optik" is applied to various points of view which may be assumed in regard to our passage of the magic nadir. The word in Jünger's usage does not imply an attitude of mind, nor an inward state, but very literally a type of vision, amounting practically to a new kind of cognition. For this reason attitudes such as optimism and pessimism are of equal value to him. Although he recognizes the danger of an emotional state such as defeatism, he is not concerned with emotional states as such, nor with moral uplift or ethical consolation, but solely with a new intellectual grasp of reality. One must learn to see anew. Jünger is mainly concerned with insights. The books under discussion abound in optical figures of speech. They are written to guide his readers during these difficult times and are intended as manuals of defense against nihilism. But his images of the abundance of the earth and of inner security are not intelligible nor of any comfort until one realizes that Jünger is dealing with basic life problems in such a way that a solution of these problems in the world as it seems to be is impossible. That the

world is actually in its true essence and being very different from what it seems to be on the surface is the message that he wished to communicate. The ability to see true inner sources of power in man and to comprehend the great abundance and richness of the world is the source of power of Nigromontanus in *Heliopolis* as it is the secret of Schwarzenberg in *Godenholm*. This latter book is devoted chiefly to a description of a method of achieving these insights through the instruction of one who already has them.

This instruction takes place in the séance already mentioned. Einar and Moltner are both initiated into the mythic basis of history in what is described as a "metaphysical adventure." For metaphysical one might substitute the term mythical, for what they see is the pageantry of history, suggestive fragments of myths. Above all they experience a suspension of normal time, for in Jünger's cyclic view of history eternal recurrence is a major feature. "Es würde immer wieder Königreiche geben, und Zeiten des Interregnums, der Finsternis. Hier aber herrschte die goldene Stille, der Große Mittag, die unbewegte Macht" (76-77). For Einar — and any readers who still have faith in Germanic myths — there appear fragments of scenes from the heroic period of the Germanic tribes. Echoes of the *Edda* and the Germanic Migrations are heard. That this is more than old Teutonic reminiscence is evident in the fact that Einar also is led back in his own personal memory and renews contact in mesmeric fashion with deceased members of his own family — modern psychotherapy is applied in conjunction with the experience of the myth. For the doubter and skeptic Moltner the vision proceeding from the incense smoke is intended to give certainty through hypnotic spell. As his inner hesitation and resistance is broken down he feels "als ob ein Reif in seiner Brust zerspränge, daß sich etwas in ihm befreite, ihn aus der Persönlichkeit entließ. Er hatte niemals das Glück gekannt." He is made to see by hypnotic suggestion the inner fulness and abundance of the earth and is given a sense of power through this insight. "Moltner empfand im Schauen Macht; er war der Festherr, dem der Aufzug galt." That his vision of the abundance of the earth is given in the form of the richness of the sea may go back to the observations recorded in *Myrdun*. Schwarzenberg keeps repeating: "Sie wissen doch mehr!", in this way leading Moltner forward to certainty by suggestion. The effect of the séance is to leave Moltner broken, crushed and exhausted, but receptive now for the wonders of the world and ready for a fresh start in life. Einar too is relieved and refreshed by the experience of depersonalization: "So ging es Einar mit der Entselbstung und mit dem Andrang des Glückes, der ihr folgt wie Flut dem aufgesprengten Wehr." Both have been freed for a time from their egos and have been able in their trance-like state to experience a feeling of rapport with the power of the earth.

The visit to the chieftain's island may be taken as an illustration of the possible ways in which a "Waldgang," that is, the insights which comprise a "Waldgang," may be achieved. The story describes an island of security. The creation or the discovery of islands of security was the chief goal of *Der Waldgang*. The basic unit of such an island is, of course, an individual who has learned the strength of his own inner resources. On the indestructibility of the individual Jünger bases his third or middle way out of the dilemma facing the Germans today. Potentially every individual who is worthy of the name is such an island of security. But one must learn to see the world and one's self with new eyes. After Einar's vision it is said of him: "Er hatte eine Veränderung erfahren, das war unzweifelhaft. Er hatte nicht nur unbekannte Dinge, er hatte sie auch mit neuen Augen gesehen. Er hatte auch eine andere Wahrnehmung seiner selbst" (92). Knowledge of one's own true inner self is the goal of the teaching of Schwarzenberg. From this all else results. In the novel *Heliopolis* the plenitude of this earth did not suffice. The hero of that novel is initiated into the mysteries of the world by Nigromontanus, but turns his back on the city of the sun to travel to the realm of the Regent. The need for transcendence is the note on which the novel ends. *Godenholm* amounts to a renunciation of the transcendence for which Jünger was groping in *Heliopolis*. It also represents a new approach to a "myth of man," a geocentric ideology which unites man anew with the forces immanent in this world. Common to both books, however, is the quest for an elite. Moltner expects to find the solution to the problem of the world worked out by small select groups. The power of the elite is a constant theme of *Der Waldgang*. What Jünger is attempting is the creation of a new "Mythos des Einzelnen" rather than a political or sociological solution. Perhaps it is this elitism that makes parts of these recent books so disappointing. Splendid as the analysis is, brilliant though the description may be, there is lacking any form of practical solution to the problems described. The following passage from *Der Waldgang* may serve both as an example of the brilliance of his formulations and of the naiveté typical of his political thinking: "Daß es nun einen Rechtsweg gibt, den alle im Grunde anerkennen, darüber kann kein Zweifel sein. Ganz sichtbar bewegen wir uns aus den Nationalstaaten, ja aus den Großräumen heraus zu planetarischen Ordnungen. Diese sind durch Verträge zu erreichen, falls nur die Partner den Willen dazu haben, wie es vor allem eine Lockerung der Souveränitäts-Ansprüche zu erweisen hätte — denn im Verzicht verbirgt sich die Fruchtbarkeit. Es gibt Ideen, und es gibt auch Tatsachen, auf denen ein großer Friede errichtet werden kann" (68-9). At the very beginning of the same book he brushes aside all sociological considerations with the remark: "Inzwischen ist die soziale Frage auf weiten Gebieten unseres Planeten gelöst worden" (8-9; also 101). In the same

context he states that the goal is not the solution of problems but the finding of concrete answers to the questions actually confronting the individual. In this way he hopes to avoid what he calls conceptualized thinking. If he has succeeded in this effort it is only in the same measure in which he has given himself up to muddy mythologizing. His approach is that of a kind of dialectical thinking which results not so much in the solution of a problem as in a careful tracing of its limits and aspects. The problem is viewed from different angles, related to future and past, and eventually not solved but circumvented by seeing it in its larger relationships. This accounts in part for his intermingling of history and prophecy. In this respect Jünger's approach to nihilism and its symptoms is much the same as it was in *Der Arbeiter* and *Die totale Mobilmachung*, namely that one conquers one's difficulties by embracing them, by intensifying present tendencies and speeding up their progress. That the march of events is inevitable is the theme of the books under consideration. Jünger welcomes the passage of the magic nadir.

Jünger's point of view is apparently an existential one. This means first of all that ethical considerations are secondary: "Diese Aufgabe darf indessen nicht auf dem Gebiete der Ethik gesucht werden; sie liegt auf dem der Existenz" (*Der Waldgang*, 92). "Wer einmal das Sein berührte, überschritt die Säume, an denen Worte, Begriffe, Schulen, Konfessionen noch wichtig sind. Doch lernte er, das zu ehren, was sie belebt" (72). Schwarzenberg has white magic and is described as being a "good" Chief Forester. One has only to ask what the difference would be if he were inclined to use black magic in order to see how perspectivistic Jünger's thinking is. It also becomes evident how close he has remained to his early Spenglerism. In the vision of Einar and Moltner he is going back from "civilization" to a creative "Vorkultur" that is an undercurrent or submerged element of our civilization. This is a mythic, but not properly a cultural view of history. Since Moltner especially is pictured as a victim of our technicized and nihilistic civilization, it is he who is rescued from it and made to see through its mask to the elements of "Vorkultur" which still exist under the surface. This might be termed Spenglerism in existential rather than biological terms. This is also, of course, an optimistic view, since there has taken place no biological deterioration. On the contrary, beneath the surface real being, forces that really "are," are still present: one must merely learn to see them, that is, to see "Vorkultur" in the midst of our civilization. Jünger is not now interested in culture in the same sense as he was in *Heliopolis*. At first glance *Godenholm* seems far removed from the view of the city of the sun given in *Das Haus der Briefe*, in which antiquarianism is reduced to the ridiculous. But even in this latter book an existential theory is at work. In letters, what really "is" is preserved,

and history as it is in flux and flow is caught and crystallized in atomistic form. But only the raw elements of history, not its cultural achievements or monuments. Only a belief in mystic forces in history would ever hit on the idea of presenting the absolutely trivial along with the truly significant. Jünger very successfully communicates his sense of excitement and feeling of elation in preserving everything without any process of selection. This effect is heightened by the dialectic nature of the fragment, in which the pros and contras of antiquarianism are debated. Many of the obvious objections to it are put in the mouth of the unsympathetic *Chef*, who, extremely utilitarian in his views, is a perfect product of civilization in the pejorative sense of the word. In so far as the book demonstrates a kind of proto-cultural antiquarianism it is related to *Godenholm*. Yet, as has already been pointed out, *Heliopolis* represents a very different solution to the problematics of our present world situation than the more recent writings, in which immanent wealth has replaced the need for transcendence. In the books under discussion the position is taken that man has within himself sufficient resources in order to weather the crisis without the aid of a Blue Pilot. Perhaps because of this inner dissonance in point of view *Das Haus der Briefe* was not included in *Heliopolis*. At any rate it appeared later than that book and contemporaneously with books with whose spirit it is much more closely related.

The strange mixture of history and prophecy that makes up *Godenholm* is not free from a certain kind of optimism. In *Der Waldgang* Jünger takes the view that only what free men do really counts. "Dennoch kann echte Geschichte nur durch Freie gemacht werden. Geschichte ist die Prägung, die der Freie dem Schicksal gibt" (66). According to this formulation genuine history could not be made by the Nazis. When Jünger uses the word "Geschichte" he often seems to mean "Mythos." If this latter word were to be substituted in the above quotation the passage would become more meaningful, for Jünger when speaking of history really means the myths of history, its recurrent phenomena, and the forces behind it. Freedom, as envisaged in the above quotation, is an inner freedom and depends on intellectual understanding, from which external, political freedom will follow later. The present is to be endured by seeing it historically, that is, in its dialectical relation to past and future. Prophecy in Jünger's latest books, aside from *Heliopolis*, which is a Utopia set at an indefinite time in the future, is also historical in nature, a dialectical extrapolation of the past into the future. The sense of the séance scene is that in the past, victory has arisen from defeat and if one gains rapport with the past one wins the strength for the present and the future. Both visitors to the chieftain's isle are freed by their newly acquired insights from speculation, conceptual confusion, and a strictly analytical approach to life. The seeker Einar is given confirmation, and the doubter

and skeptic Moltner is given certainty. This is the effect which Jünger describes. Yet the amount of comfort one can derive from prophecy is considerably limited by prophecy's counterpart, namely history. The emphasis on eternal recurrence is not comforting in itself, especially on the verge of a catastrophe which Jünger keeps reminding us is imminent. Civilization will arise again from its ashes, but probably only to succumb to an even greater calamity. According to Jünger's diagnoses the catastrophes are growing progressively worse in our technical age. Perhaps we are moving towards one final, overwhelming catastrophe, after which we can start afresh and break out of the cycle. Perhaps this is the sense of the magic nadir. At any rate the old Germanic reminiscences and the insights into the past are all presented in *Godenholm* from a positive point of view. Schwarzenberg is alleged to have secret knowledge of the present too, but of that nothing becomes apparent in the story. Jünger seems to have a point of view which is in a way akin to a primitive kind of pragmatism: what works, is good. Or, what continues and survives and is repeated in the cycle, has existence, therefore is good. Existentialism, as it appears in Jünger, tends to equate being with values and to absorb value considerations into questions of existence. Yet Jünger agrees with Nietzsche in believing that the loss of values is a sure symptom of nihilism. The existential approach to good and evil, a problem which at various stages existentialism has to face, even if reluctantly, is to consider that which truly *is* as the good and speak of what is evil as that which does not truly exist. What this overlooks, when applied to history, is the fact that evil too has continuity and a long and enduring history. True being includes evil as well as good. To judge by permanence or by historical survival, evil is just as real, just as existent ("seiend") as good. Existential thinking avoids just such paths of thought as I have outlined in the last few sentences, but in the effort to escape conceptualized thinking and deal only with that which truly is, one must realize that evil too has its being and existence.

In *Besuch auf Godenholm* as in all his works Jünger is concerned with the problem of power. The nature of power, how to recognize real power and distinguish it from apparent power, how to identify the bearers of genuine power — these are the themes which he has treated in most of his books. *Godenholm* ends on the note that real power may lie in a magnetic personality. This is the sense of the rather abrupt ending that brings the narrative to a strange conclusion. At the hotel Moltner and Einar, now firm and self-confident, radiate personality, thereby obtaining good rooms. This may seem a rather trivial application of their newly-won power, but it is perhaps intended to illustrate Jünger's thesis that inner certainty and confidence will find immediate and appropriate reflection in one's effect on one's environment. Back of this belief lies the assumption that power will someday be used for good purposes. "Einar vermutete, daß dies die dritte Stufe bilden sollte: die Einsicht, daß die

Welt in den Atomen völlig aus Liebeskraft gebildet ist" (98). Since the nature of the world is love, genuine, that is to say also benevolent, power will therefore lie with him who best sees the true structure of the world. Knowledge, or, to use a more characteristic Jünger term, insight is power, for it enables one to associate himself with the real, existent forces of the universe. That this is sheer optimism, even wishful thinking, is the more strikingly evident when one recalls Jünger's own strictures against such emotional attitudes in thinking. In sharp contrast to the precision of the aphoristic style and the lean, hard, functional prose are the unexamined values it communicates.

This prose remains, however, on the level of assertion and does not rise to the level of description. The more he asseverates, the less clearly can one visualize the substance of what he wishes to communicate. The following may serve as an example of an esoteric assertion without communicable meaning: "Die großen Feuer kündeten weithin, daß neue Namen bevorstanden. Damit gewann die Sprache unmittelbare Macht. Von Schwarzenberg war anzunehmen, daß er neue Namen kannte, doch daß er sie nicht aussprach, weil sie zu stark waren. Er wußte, warum er sie durch Bilderkraft umschrieb Auf alle Fälle stand er dort, wo die Dinge noch nicht gebannt durch die Begriffe sind. Das gab ihm den proteushaften Zug. Sein Reichtum lag hinter dem Wort" (100-01). This magus whose power lies beyond language is a shadowy figure. Many attributes are claimed for him, but none of them become visual. What is described is the effect that his personality has on his surroundings and in particular on the two visitors. What is successfully communicated is the aura of mystery and mystic power that surrounds him. Unfortunately even here Jünger has been led astray by his desire to make every gesture seem laden with symbolic meaning and thus part of a significant and suggestive ritual. Even the most trivial actions are dealt with as if they were supposed to illustrate the fact that Schwarzenberg is a magician. Even a way of serving food at the table is treated as if it were part of a solemn and profound ritual. There is a great discrepancy between what is alleged about him and what is actually shown. Significant in the following passage is the repetition of "man sah," which betrays even in a stylistic mannerism the desire to portray only the effect: "Man sah auch physiognomisch, wie bald die eine und bald die andere Seite durchschimmerte. Wo er zu horchen schien, nahm er die Züge eines alten Wahrsagevogels an und Zeichen des Leidens prägten sich an ihm aus. . . . Beim Sprechen dagegen gewann er klassische Sicherheit. Man sah, daß er im Leben geführt hatte" (98). One sees only that Einar and Moltner, two typological phantoms, are hypnotized by Schwarzenberg. Jünger has proved himself to be a fascinating describer of static phenomena and a keen observer of some aspects of life, but he is incapable of portraying character. He has not made it appear convincing that Norse myths provide a substance of any comfort against the ravages of nihilism.

RAABE'S AND WIECHERT'S NOVEL TRILOGIES

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In the span of a lifetime which overlapped two world wars, Ernst Wiechert's biography reflects the mental stresses suffered by an introspective educator and artist in the intensity of his passionate quest for truth. He had been endowed by nature with a tragic outlook on life, and his medium of expression was in a large part, like Wilhelm Raabe's, the unhampered prose of the novel and the *Novelle*. At the same time his lyric spirit sought emotional release within the narrative; at times he introduces verse into the context of a story, or he uses it as a thematic introduction to a novel. The older writer had likewise exercised his lyric strain, weaving it occasionally into his narrative prose, but never in the excessive manner of his romantic contemporaries. Both writers practice vigorous social criticism, which is mainly non-political in nature. Wiechert had been a soldier in World War I, and Raabe was a patriot in the best sense of the word, but these are details which have no bearing on the basic view of the humanistic-ethical content of man's life on earth which they shared. In voicing his dissent with the spirit of his time, which was so frequently out of tune with the Goethean ideal, Raabe wrote the cultural history of the nineteenth century. No less may be said of Wiechert, who was a Raabe devotee, and who in turn related the cultural history, as he saw it, of the first half of the twentieth century in Germany, continuing in tragic realization what Raabe in anxious warnings had sometimes foreseen.

Much of Raabe's tragic outlook may be found in the three books which are sometimes called a trilogy: ¹ the *Hungerpastor* (1861-62); *Abu Telfan oder Die Heimkehr vom Mondgebirge* (1867); and *Der Schüdderump* (1869). ² Echoes from these three and from *Holunderblüte*, ³ a by-product of the *Hungerpastor* period, may be heard frequently in Wiechert's works, as he is reminded of some of the most profoundly pessimistic insights of the "humorist" Raabe. When the humanistic premise proved to be less and less tenable, Wiechert's increasing defense of it and of the right of the poet to tell the truth as he saw it, turned his thoughts to Raabe again. When the menace of the concentration camp had been translated into bitter experience, it was Raabe once more in whom

¹ Walter Silz, "Pessimism in Raabe's Stuttgart Trilogy," *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 687-704, discusses the problem as to whether the three novels constitute a genuine trilogy. He comes to the conclusion that they "form a unit in a deep, spiritual sense," which is the viewpoint assumed in this paper.

² The references to Raabe's works, with the exception of the *Hungerpastor*, are from *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin-Grünwald, undated): *Der Hungerpastor* (Berlin, 1931), Th. Knaur Nachf. Vollständige Ausgabe (= *Hpst.*); *Abu Telfan*, II, 1, 1-411 (= *Abu T.*); *Der Schüdderump*, III, 1, 1-408 (= *Schüdd.*). The dates of Raabe's works have been accepted either from the *Sämtliche Werke* or from Wilhelm Fehse, *Wilhelm Raabe* (Braunschweig, 1937) (= Fehse).

³ *Holunderblüte*, I, 5, 594-627.

he found a melancholy echo of his own conflicts with those in power. In the seven years of the *Schreibverbot*, while he was preparing manuscripts which he buried in the garden, the tragic philosophy of Raabe's "trilogy" dictated to his pen and was recorded in the books which he wrote during the reign of those whom Raabe would have called the *Canaille*. The *Jeromin-Kinder* and *Die Furchen der Armen*⁴ testify eloquently to the spiritual presence of Raabe in the last decade of Wiechert's life.

From 1933 on and until matters came to a head with Wiechert's removal to the concentration camp, his tragic sense of man's constant exposure to chaos, disaster, and death was communicated in essay form as often as he succeeded in securing a printer. These essays, which likewise sought to bring comfort to those who felt as he did and who were concerned about his safety, achieved an artistic and stylistic excellence which the earlier novels had signally lacked. The essay *Eine Mauer um uns baue*,⁵ written in 1937, sounds the keynote of those days in quoting dedicatory lines from Hans Carossa's book *Geheimnisse des reifen Lebens* (1936). Wiechert called it "(das) schönste . . . Buch, das das vergangene Jahr uns geschenkt hat," and cited Carossa's "Ach, unser Stern ist in solcher Gefahr," as he proceeded to establish a relationship between this experience and a reminiscence of his childhood. He recalls an early instruction period while he was still living in the forests; here he learned one of those poems, "die für viele Jahre unseres Lebens — so unbeholfen und unbedeutend sie auch sein mögen — doch eine stille und untrügliche Leitung darstellen, . . . die halb wie Ahnung und halb wie Aberglaube in unsere frühe Lebensnot fällt." The poem tells a story from the Thirty Years' War, (a period to which Raabe often reverts in his numerous and sometimes wearisome historical romances). In Wiechert's essay the line "Eine Mauer um uns baue," which is part of a seventeenth century *Kirchenlied*, is the beginning of a prayer for protection from the approaching soldiers and their depredations. When the old woman awakened the next morning, her cottage was so hidden by walls of snow that it was invisible to the marauders even as they passed close by.

Wiechert recalls his own childlike faith when he saw the snow falling in his forest home and his confidence that in His own good time God would build walls of snow about *their* house to protect *them* from men and from wolves. Now, when he knows himself to be isolated in an endangered universe, he cannot forget this verse. At the same time he wishes to write a thank-offering to his many unseen friends and supporters,

⁴ *Die Jeromin-Kinder*, (Zürich, 1947) (= *Jeromin-K.*); *Die Furchen der Armen*, (Zürich, 1947) (= *Furchen*).

⁵ *Eine Mauer um uns baue*, now in the volume with *Vom Trost der Welt*, (Mainz: Albert Eggebrecht-Press, im April 1938) (= *Trost*); the date, 1937, according to the excellent bibliography in Hans Ebeling, *Ernst Wiechert* (Wiesbaden, 1947), 160 (= Ebeling, 1947). The biographer calls it a "Dankaufsatz."

who in their invisibly united strength are building that wall about him, but who at the same time are looking to see whether the light is still shining from his house. "Keine Sonne, keine Flamme, sondern nur der stille Lampenschein, von dem Raabe gesagt hat, daß er uns immer noch tröstend bleibe, auch wenn alles Licht in der Welt versunken sein sollte" (*Trost*, 31).

Raabe had used the same incident and verse in the three years between 1885 and 1888 in two narratives, both of which are deeply concerned with appearance and reality.⁶ *Unruhige Gäste*,⁷ which Raabe subtitled "Ein Roman aus dem Säkulum,"⁸ refers indirectly to the story of the old woman, which serves to stress the contrast between two worlds: "Nun ist der Winterschnee auch dißmal eine Mauer, die Gott um Dich aufbaut Du bist dahinter in Sicherheit mit Deinen lieben Herzen . . . Du bist wieder frei von dem Mann aus der fremden Welt in Deiner Seele und auch mit Deinem sterblichen Leibe" (575). In *Stopfkuchen*,⁹ three years later, Raabe quotes the first two lines, undoubtedly of the poem which Wiechert learned as a child, and confirms that the line "Eine Mauer um uns baue" was part of a hymn: "Eine Mauer um uns baue, / Sang das fromme Mütterlein" (*Stopfk.*, 128).

It was all very well for Wiechert to derive comfort between 1932 and 1938 from the bright light of Raabe's lamp which shone on his quiet nineteenth century world. Wiechert could indeed be soothed and could refer his audiences, so long as he had them, to the lyrics of *Holunderblüte*¹⁰ and of *Das letzte Recht*.¹¹ He could steep himself in the resigned philosophy of *Alte Nester*,¹² he could keep in mind the consistent exposition of *Sein und Schein* in *Kloster Lugau*,¹³ and he could make silent comparisons of the *Säkulum* and the German *Gründerjahre* with the excesses of the Nazi revolution. This was all very well while he had freedom to move and was not forced to witness enormities which he could not believe. The cumulative effect of his kinship with Raabe came to a head in 1938 with his incarceration. But now it was Raabe in his

⁶ The author has in preparation a study which deals more searchingly with the concepts of *Sein und Schein* as they obtruded themselves on Raabe's and Wiechert's consciousness.

⁷ *Unruhige Gäste*, III, 2, 409-592, written 1884.

⁸ Fehse defines *Säkulum*, page 490: "das ist, um von der Bezeichnung in 'Pfisters Mühle' auszugehen, erst einmal der raum- und zeitgebundene, der Unruhe und dem unablässigen Wandel unterworfenen Werkeltag, und der Gegensatz dazu ist die Welt, die 'über dem Raum und der Zeit' liegt."

⁹ *Stopfkuchen*, III, 5, 1-215 (= *Stopfk.*).

¹⁰ See Wiechert's last autobiography *Jahre und Zeiten*, (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1949) (= *Jahre*), for an account of his visit to the scene of *Holunderblüte*, 218-219.

¹¹ Wiechert quotes from Raabe's "Das Ewige ist stille" in the important essay *Der Dichter und die Jugend*, (Mainz, 1936) (= *D. u. J.*). The whole poem can be found III, 6, 404. It was incorporated into the text of the *Novelle Das letzte Recht*, (1861).

¹² *Alte Nester*, II, 6, 1-298 (= *Nester*).

¹³ *Kloster Lugau*, III, 3, 387-624.

deepest pessimism to whom he turned; it was the "Stuttgart trilogy" which provided Wiechert with analogies to his own situation. There was no consolation or comfort in plumbing the depths which Raabe had fathomed, there was only confirmation of his wisdom.

I. "Lebenskunst" und "Todesbereitschaft"

In his bitterest year, 1938, when, (as Raabe says in *Abu Telfan*), "die Widersacher am lautesten Sieg über uns kreischen" (*Abu T.*, 357), Wiechert found complete understanding of what he was experiencing in Raabe's most tragic book. He says of himself and of that time: "... sein Tagebuch war erfüllt mit Worten der Bitterkeit, die er aus den Büchern vergangener Geschlechter entnahm, so mit dem Raabes von der Kanaille, die zu allen Zeiten Herr sei und Herr bleiben werde."¹⁴ It is the *Schüdderump*, the dread symbol of the seventeenth century dump cart which in times of pestilence gathered up bodies by the dozen:

In mancherlei Glanz und Licht sah ich seinen Schatten fallen,
in allerlei Flöten- und Geigenklang vernahm ich sein dumpfes
Gepolter, und manch einen herzerfrischenden braven Wunsch
... wurde ich ... los, indem ich ... den Karren um-
kippte und die Last hinabrutschen ließ in die große, schwarze,
kalte Grube, in der kein Unterschied der Personen und Sachen
mehr gilt (*Schüdd.*, 4).

Wiechert's *Gesichter des Todes*¹⁵ shows how closely he follows Raabe's thoughts as he formulates his own conclusions from his experiences with the many forms in which he has learned to *accept* the "grim reaper."¹⁶ These conclusions go back a number of years and were published at least twice, in 1930 and again in 1934, under the title of "Meine Totenmaske" (according to Ebeling 1947, 150). The emphasis is on the acceptance of death in the natural order of human destinies; death is not so much the "Schnitter" as he is the "Pflüger" whom Wiechert presents to us in a much later poem. The basis of Wiechert's essay is the foreword to Raabe's *Alte Nester* (to which Wiechert refers on a number of occasions) and the Goethe anecdote from O. L. B. Wolffs' *Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans* which impressed Raabe. Wiechert repeats the passage: "Ein Freund von mir begleitete einmal Goethen auf einem Spaziergange. Unterwegs stießen sie auf einen armen Knaben, der am Wege saß, den Kopf in den Händen und die Arme auf die Knie stützend. 'Junge, was machst du da? Worauf wartest du?' rief Goethes Begleiter. 'Worauf sollte er warten, mein Freund?' nahm Goethe das Wort. 'Er wartet auf menschliche Schicksale'." To Wiechert this seems one of the most penetrating reflections that concern man's existence

¹⁴ *Der Totenwald, ein Bericht* (Zürich, 1946), 5 (= *Totenwald*).

¹⁵ *Es geht ein Pflüger übers Land* (München, 1951), 14-21.

¹⁶ Cf. John R. Frey, "The 'Grim Reaper' in the works of Ernst Wiechert," *Monatshefte* XLII (May 1950), 201-213, who treats the subject in general, without mentioning Wiechert's essay. Frey's essay tends to be enumerative and somewhat superficial.

within the great order of things. "So haben wir alle gegessen, als wir noch Kinder waren, und nun sitzen wir wieder, wenn wir aus dem Staub der Tage heimkehren zu unserer stillen Abendstunde. Denn wir wissen, daß von allen unendlichen Schicksalen . . . eines noch nicht vorübergekommen ist, das gewisseste, unverlierbarste, das seinen Weg niemals verfehlt: der Tod."

Wiechert then related how he met death face to face at various times: in fear, in majesty and beauty, and as a friend and brother. Now he confronts us with the fearful and frightening first glimpse of a death mask which turns out to be his own; he describes how the new fear slowly changes to familiarity, until it is no longer "der Tod der Welt. Es ist mein eigener Tod, von mir geformt, in meines Lebens dunklem Schacht, ist mein dunkler Bruder aufgenommen an meinen Tisch, zu meiner Rechten, wie seine Ehre es befiehlt." Now at last, by this acceptance of what Jens Peter Jacobsen and in his wake Rainer Maria Rilke introduced into literature as "der eigene Tod,"¹⁷ Wiechert too rescues his individuality and at the same time begins to feel wholly at ease "in unserer dunklen Welt." In looking his death mask in the face, he feels that he has opened the last door in which at first he glimpsed only darkness and terror. Ever since he has accepted the reflected image, it has merged into a unity with his personality. So, starting with Raabe and destiny, through the medium of Goethe, Wiechert arrives at this nineteenth century formulation of a death of one's own, with the unique addition of the death mask.

Raabe has embroidered the Goethean theme of sitting by the wayside and waiting for human destiny. Cousin Just is the boy who is given to this meditative pursuit, as he rests on a wayside stone at the edge of his *Steinhof* and goes part way to meet this destiny. He is Goethe's *Lebenskünstler* in his intelligence and thoughtfulness, in his sure instincts, in his infinite ability to wait in patience, to bow to necessity. He is an embodiment of Wiechert's oft-quoted Biblical passage: "Ein Geduldiger ist besser denn ein Starker," or as the King James version has it: "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty."¹⁸ Cousin Just is a foil to the narrator of the story, the learned scholar Doctor Friedrich Langreuter, who acts like a bull in a china shop in all human relationships. The learned doctor, who is not slow-witted, compares himself in modest disparagement with a fly that crawls along a closed windowpane, but his summary of the *Lebenskünstler* is Raabe's very own:

Sind es bloß die großen Künstler mit Stift, Feder und Meißel,
die die Welt festhalten, während sie allen übrigen entgleitet? Ich

¹⁷ In my "Study of Ernst Wiechert with special reference to Jens Peter Jacobsen and Rilke," *Modern Language Quarterly* V, (December 1944), I tried to bring out some of the relationships between Wiechert, Jacobsen, and Rilke, with incidental mention of Raabe.

¹⁸ Proverbs xvi, 32.

meine, solch ein Mann des Lebens wie der da, hat auch einen guten Griff. Was er faßt, läßt er so leicht nicht los, und was er weiter gibt, das reicht er weit in die Zeiten hinein. Welch ein Kunstwerk hat dieser Mann aus seinem Leben gemacht – treuherzig! Und ist nicht Treuherzigkeit das erste und letzte Zeichen eines wahren Kunstwerks? . . . o, welch ein weiser Mensch steckte in jenem Jungen, der da am Wege . . . saß und Glauben hatte, . . . und gelassen auf menschliche Schicksale wartete (Nester, 266).

Alte Nester consistently develops the theme that the deepest knowledge possessed by man is the simplest and naivest, and that this knowledge is worth more than book learning. Ernst Wiechert celebrates such simplicity from the time of his great personal crisis in 1928, applies it to his creative work, and brings it to artistic fulfillment in *Das einfache Leben*¹⁹ some ten years later, subsequent to his imprisonment at Buchenwald. In his reminiscences he tells us that he had accepted the greatness of simplicity as a truth very early in life, that he had found it confirmed in preparatory school and university, and that he had experienced it concretely and vividly in the invaluable companionship which he had enjoyed with every member of the household of Baron Grotthuß in Kurland. The year that he had spent there during an interrupted university career had stamped indelibly upon his mind the conviction that simplicity is consistent with the highest culture and the greatest intelligence. In a passage in which he speaks of *dem grauen Meilenstein* and of *Schicksal* which directed him to that household, he recalls his recognition of

. . . des Menschlichen eben, der Ausgewogenheit zwischen Wissen und Ahnen, des Rechtens und Helfens und Heilens. Dessen, in dem meine einfachen Eltern mir so überlegen waren, auch ohne hohe Schulen, und wonach ich so leidenschaftlich und so vergeblich zurückgestrebt hatte, nachdem die große, unbewußte Einheit in mir zerstört worden war durch das Wissen (*Jahre*, 46).

II. The Symbol of the Cobbler and the World of the "Lichtkugel"

Motifs and phrases from all three books of the Raabe "trilogy" echo hauntingly through Wiechert's late writings, but most impressively in the *Jeromin-Kinder* and the *Furchen der Armen*. The second book is merely a continuation of the first, just as *Jedermann* was a continuation of *Die kleine Passion*,²⁰ which was first published in 1929 as "Erster Teil einer Romantrilogie 'Passion eines Menschen'." *Jedermann*, published 1931, was announced as "2. Teil der Romantrilogie 'Passion eines Menschen'." The third part, however, never appeared. This first proposed trilogy is the detailed story of a poet's heritage, his birth, his

¹⁹ *Das einfache Leben*, (München, 1939).

²⁰ *Die kleine Passion*, (Berlin, 1935); *Jedermann*, (München, 1931).

childhood, his adolescence, and his young manhood, up to the time when he survives World War I and comes of age. It was never brought up to date. During World War II Wiechert began, as he thought, another trilogy, but *Furchen*, when it appeared in 1947, was more modestly called "Band II." Again the author was frustrated when he tried to write the third volume, the contemporary scene. This time he idealized and stylized his hero to show the potentialities and the development of a humanistic character. He had been able to evoke his homeland once more; he had peopled it with the poor and the humble whom he himself had known and who would live in the pages of his book; he had endowed his hero, Jons Ehrenreich Jeromin, with all the tenacity and the singleness of purpose to help and to heal which he himself had often thought he lacked. He brought him again through World War I, and beyond that to the threshold of the Third Reich, but he could not apparently bring himself to show the utter defeat of all humanism, nor the destruction of the soil that he held so dear, nor the death or enslavement of his humble friends.

In Raabe's *Hungerpastor* we are never allowed to forget the reflective cobbler, Master Anton, whose "high, furrowed brow" conceals the meditative brain which mulls over the mystic and poetic effusions of his famous predecessors, the poet-cobbler of Nürnberg and the philosopher-cobbler of Görlitz. Master Anton, despite his early death when his son is but a year old, continues to be a living presence to the boy, for his memory is kept alive by the guardians of the receptive child. It may have seemed to Wiechert to be no mere chance when he rented his first room as a young student in Königsberg: "Mein Wirt war ein Schuhmacher, ein stiller, schwerer Mann, den ich selten sah und von dem ich nur die leisen Hammerschläge vernahm, mit denen er wie ein verborgener und unterirdischer Erdgeist an seinem dunklen Schicksal pochte" (*Jahre*, 14). He turns this cobbler into a proletarian underdog in his *Totenwolf* (1922)²¹ and utilizes him as the subject of the probing exploration of the human mind with which he is absorbed in those years of the first German attempt at "democracy." Wiechert's character Wolf descends to the subterranean cavern in which the shoemaker and his prostitute daughter live in misery, argues with him, abuses him and all his fellow-workers in the slums for their faith in an ideology and for their submissiveness (*Totenwolf*, 116-121).

The cobbler in the *Totenwolf* has nothing in common with Raabe's Master Anton except his trade. He typifies the lowest level of poverty and degradation, which accepts unthinkingly any prospect of social betterment by any means. In the *Jeromin-Kinder* the figure of the cobbler again represents the lower classes as they protest against the social misery of the city. This time, however, he is portrayed as a

²¹ *Der Totenwolf*, (Berlin, 1935).

thoughtful man, a spokesman for the underprivileged, and in this respect he is a modernized version of Raabe's Master Anton. Jons comes across this socialistic slum-dweller in his early student days when he brings him his hobnailed boots to mend. Jons, like Wolf, has long arguments and discussions with this workman who has become his friend, but these debates are on a wholly different level. The opinionated Wolf-Wiechert, nihilistic and anti-social, has been succeeded by the serious student Jons-Wiechert. In the twenty-five years that lie between the two characters, the problems have not become less serious, but protagonist and antagonist have mellowed and softened in like degree. The cobbler of the *Jeromin-Kinder* is an idealist of his own time and generation, weaving his dreams of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the light of a water-filled crystal globe, similar to the ones which had illumined the mystic speculations of Master Anton Unwirrsch and of Jakob Böhme. The connection with Raabe is now both implicit and explicit (*Jeromin-K.*, 219; *Furchen*, 37).

The whole life of the *Hungerpastor* had been irradiated by the light of the crystal ball that once had hung over his father's workbench. This light of life "leuchtete weit in das Jünglingsalter des Sohnes hinein," it shines upon his mother's bent figure as she toils and transmits his father's heritage to the son, so that "unlöslich verknüpfte sich allmählich in des Sohnes Geist das Bild des Vaters mit dem Scheine dieser Kugel" (*Hpst.*, 19). In the son's full maturity the father's image stands before his spiritual eye, a father who had hungered so greatly for the light and had wished to fulfill his existence, his hopes, and his wishes in his son (*Hpst.*, 488). It is the theme of Jemima Löw in *Holunderblüte*, a story almost simultaneous in conception with the *Hungerpastor*, that those who stem from such lowly and poor homes must have strong hearts to become real men and women. Wiechert's *Jeromin-Kinder* is permeated by this thought. The *Hungerpastor*, in an imaginary conversation with his long-dead father, tells him:

Aus der Tiefe steigen die Befreier der Menschheit . . . o Vater, der Mensch hat doch nichts Besseres als dies schmerzliche Streben nach oben! . . . Vater, ich bin meinen Weg in Unruhe gegangen; aber . . . ich habe gelernt, das Nichtige von dem Echten, den Schein von der Wirklichkeit zu unterscheiden (*Hpst.*, 489).

The only possession from his past life which he takes into his new household is the shining glass ball which had hung over his father's workbench.

Jons Ehrenreich Jeromin goes to his cobbler in a different spirit from that displayed by Wolf Wiedensahl, the *Totenwolf*, and his positive rewards in human communications are greater. Jons, like Anton's son, learned more about life from his shoemaker than he could find in his books, and this is an awakening for him. It had not been enough to

walk through streets of poverty and to look into the eyes of misery. Compassion, he discovered, was "ein billiger Zoll zur Brücke der Behaglichkeit, und mit einer Hand voll Mitleid konnte man keine Suppe in der Volksküche kaufen" (*Jeromin-K.*, 218). You could discard a good many things that cluttered up the books, "ein graues Trümmerfeld, Ballast für leere Schiffe, und sich an die Menschen halten, die lebendigen Zeugen des Lebens. An den alten Schuster etwa, . . . der hinter seiner Lichtkugel zu fragen pflegte, ob sie nun schon Tote auferwecken könnten" (*Jeromin-K.*, 219). Wiechert has traveled the full circle from nihilistic despair in the nineteen twenties to humanistic compassion in the forties. Destruction is not the answer to human evil, fear, and terror. Jons does not agree with his friend in all respects, and he is thinking for himself while he is listening to many other human beings. "Man tat nicht das Rechte, wenn man dem Tode fluchte. Man tat es nur, wenn man ihn bezwang" (*Jeromin-K.*, 450). This thought follows directly upon his decision to go back to his village for the helping and healing which becomes Jons' chief motivation in life. "Erwartet wurden weder Helden noch Träumer, sondern Helfende und Heilende. Und Helfen und Heilen war eine Sache des Dienens und der Arbeit. Sie war es immer gewesen und würde es immer sein."

A Swiss commentator calls the *Jeromin-Kinder* a counterpart of the *Hungerpastor* in conception and conclusion.²² His thesis is that just as Hans Unwirsch followed in his father's footsteps by not disappointing the hopes placed in him: the wish that he could find his way out of darkness into a life of light and responsibility to society, so Jons Ehrenreich Jeromin carried out his father's legacy. The spirit of this legacy is indeed a similar one to Master Anton's: "Auch wird . . . nicht wichtig sein, ob einer ein Pfarrer wird oder ein Richter oder ein Köhler. Nur ob hier und da ein Licht übrigbleiben wird in der Nacht, das wird wichtig sein" (*Jeromin-K.*, 315). Jons acts on this belief, as he gives up a brilliant career to become a country doctor.

Hier ist wie auch sonst – ohne Namen – Wilhelm Raabe angerufen, und ein Gegenstück zum "Hungerpastor" dürfen wir wenigstens in Anlage und Entschluß in diesem Buch aus unseren Tagen sehen. Saat und Ernte wird immerdar sein, so will der junge Mensch seine Hand wie immer ans Werk legen. „Das Glück eines jungen Menschen, der gehungert, gefroren, getötet und verloren hat, und der nun an seine Arbeit gehen darf": dies ist Ziel und Anfang (Bohnenblust, 268).

This same commentator calls attention to the great simplicity with which the stirring enthusiasm which was going to transform the world has been canalized into a task of unpretentious greatness. One may add that the *Hungerpastor's* numerous digressions and enthusiasms were in

²² Gottfried Bohnenblust, in an essay "Mut und Schönheit," in the volume Ernst Wiechert, *Der Mensch und sein Werk*, (München, 1951) 264-270.

the end similarly channeled into the same kind of active service. He was not content with mere preaching but ministered and labored among the simple folk in the remote fishing village where he chose to spend his life. This is the helping and healing to which both young men are dedicated.

III. The Tragedy of Living

Another Raabe symbol that Wiechert uses several times is the *Heimkehr vom Mondgebirge* which occurs in the subtitle of *Abu Telfan*. "Wenn Ihr wüßtet, was ich weiß, sprach Mahomed, so würdet Ihr viel weinen und wenig lachen" is set down directly under the subtitle to underscore, if it were necessary, the tragedy of living. Returning home from the mountains of the moon symbolizes any home-coming from a remote world of speculation, of abstraction, of foreign and unfamiliar territory. Jons' old teacher, Stilling, employs the phrase as most aptly descriptive of Jons' decision to come back as a doctor to practice the "helping and healing" function which now seems to him to be the most important thing in the world. It must be performed, he thinks, in little villages like the Owl's Corner of his own origins. It is a rebirth for the old man to know that all his own labors have been to the end that Jons may return from his "mountains of the moon" to the home of his forefathers (*Jeromin-K.*, 457). A few days later Jons reflects that his mother, who has been bitterly and harshly remote from her children's affection, "niemals vom Mondgebirge heimkehren [würde]" (*Jeromin-K.*, 458).²³ But Jons is not an anti-intellectual, nor will he betray his heritage of dreams. It is not in his mind to disparage the world of the crystal ball so cherished by Raabe and Wiechert, nor the quiet world of books which he had first come to know through Stilling. The light of which Raabe speaks is not to be forgotten:

Und vielleicht trugen alle die dunklen Bücher . . . doch ein verborgenes Licht in sich, und selbst wenn die Wahrheit nicht in ihnen zu finden sein sollte, die letzte Wahrheit, . . . so war es doch wohl möglich, daß all das menschliche Bemühen, das in ihnen lag, wie ein unsichtbarer Glanz von ihnen ausstrahlte und das ganze Haus bis zu den Bodenkammern erhellte (*Jeromin-K.*, 456).

In experiencing vicariously the implementation of his humane ideal through his one-time pupil Jons, and in talking to his listeners about the "mountains of the moon," the old man is thinking of Raabe.

When his hearers seemed not to understand what he was talking about, he took the book which he had just been reading from under the lamp where it lay and handed it to Jons. He begged him to take it for the coming week, in which it would be exactly the right book for him, and it might be for future times as well. "Und wir glauben ja

²³ *Furchen*, page 192, also refers to Sowirog as a "Dorf . . . das unter dem Mondgebirge liegt."

auch nicht, daß Bücher nur für Friedenszeiten da sind." When Jons opened it and read the foreword of *Abu Telfan*, the lines about his mouth became bitter: "'Wenn ihr wüßtet, was ich weiß,' stand dort, 'so würdet ihr viel weinen und wenig lachen.'" To his vexed question as to whether he was to read a book which harped on the tragedy of living, of which he was well aware, the aged teacher returned the affirmative answer with which *Abu Telfan* closes:

O nein, Jons, das brauchen wir nicht zu lesen, das wissen wir wohl auch so. Aber du mußt die letzte Seite aufschlagen, da steht es noch einmal. Und zwei Zeilen vorher steht etwas anderes, nämlich: "Jetzt wollen wir wieder zu den Lebendigen gehen." Und wie jemand von dem ersten Wort bis zu diesem gekommen ist, das kann man schon lesen. Denn auch er ist vom Mondgebirge heimgekommen wie ihr alle (*Jeromin-K.*, 457).

Herr von Balk, the feudal land-owner, who rules over the villagers with a protective paternalism, is the other exponent of Raabe. He combines worldly sagacity and pronounced individualism with concealed idealism. Mohammed's wise words to the effect that the texture of the world contains more tears than laughter are an ingredient of his knowledge. The new ideology of the Third Reich and the tramp of marching feet are signs and omens of ill portent; they foreshadow his own death and in the end they spell the death of the village. In *Abu-Telfan* terminology and with his own ironic contempt he remarks: "Sie sind schlechte Marschierer hier . . . Zu lange hinter dem Pfluge hergegangen, um Brot für andere Marschierer zu bauen. Und auch mit den Symbolen hapert es hier etwas. Ein etwas zurückgebliebenes Dorf am Fuße des Mondgebirges . . ." (*Furchen*, 276). He succumbs in the end to the physical force of the *Knechte*, Raabe's *Canaille*. He dies fighting and undefeated in spirit, still lord and master over his dominions as long as he is conscious. He resists arrest, shoots down two of his attackers, and meets death as victoriously as the hero of any classical tragedy. "Es war ein sich vollendendes [Schicksal] . . . auch ein gnädiges . . . Denn es war dem Herrn von Balk nicht gegeben, unter Knechten leben zu können" (*Furchen*, 405, 406). When Jons finds him and sees that nothing more can be done, he spies an open book on the little round table. "Es war der 'Schüdderump' von Wilhelm Raabe" (*Furchen*, 407). The grim reality of the destiny of Sowirog, the "Owl's Corner," which Wiechert could not find it in his heart to fictionalize, may be read in the autobiography: "In . . . einem kleinen und armen Dorfe wie Sowirog, ein paar Wochen oder Monate nach der Eroberung . . . [versammelten sich] die fünf- oder sechshundert Überlebenden auf dem kleinen Friedhof des Dorfes . . . , Männer, Frauen und Kinder, und [nahmen sich] in dem kurzen Zeitraum von vielleicht einer Viertelstunde alle zusammen das Leben . . . , weil dieses Leben ihnen eine unerträgliche Qual geworden war" (*Jahre*, 387).

IV. Education in Simplicity

We return once more to the *Hungerpastor*. He is in many respects an early version of Wiechert's *Probekandidat*, that much-abused teacher and tutor whom Wiechert knew so well and whom he apotheosized in one of his finest *Novellen*, *Der Todeskandidat*.²⁴ Like Raabe's Hans Unwirrsch, whom the author at first thought of naming *Zänker* to underscore his disagreement with the *Zeitgeist*, Wiechert's typical theologian waits years for a pastorate, is at the mercy of his temporary employers and his frequently unwilling charges, and he is usually as devout in a childlike way as he is unwise in all worldly matters. Hans Unwirrsch is an earthy prototype of Wiechert's *Kandidaten*, his Andreas Bonekamps, his Heinrich Georgesoohns, and his Bergengrüns, but he hungers and thirsts for righteousness as they all do. When these *Kandidaten* become pastors, they stand out in strong contrast to those members of the profession who are stereotyped in their dogma. In his later works Wiechert sometimes merges the two types as Raabe did: let us say in Bergengrün in *Das einfache Leben*, and more ideally in the person of Tobias in the *Jeromin-Kinder* and *Die Furchen der Armen*. Here the desperately unhappy pastor, who calls God to account for His misdeemeanors, is succeeded by the gentle Tobias. The latter comes to Sowirog without a moment's hesitation; he substitutes joy for moodiness, and his faith never wavers. He seems to have stepped out of another age. The gospel of simplicity is also embodied in two religious laymen, the fisherman Michael and the charcoal-burner Jakob, the grandfather and father who have educated Jons to an appreciation of Tobias.

These unschooled guardians perform functions similar to those of the early tutors of Hans Unwirrsch, whose mother, whose Aunt Schlotterbeck, and whose Uncle Grünebaum all share equally in preparing their protégé for the exigencies of life. Raabe's great reverence for the mother sometimes matches Wiechert's infinite glorification of the mother symbol. The *Hungerpastor's* mother could scarcely read or write, "ihre philosophische Bildung war gänzlich vernachlässigt," she wept easily and often, but she set her child on its feet and taught it to walk for all the rest of its life (*Hpst.*, 21). According to her lights, she is just as adequate to the demands upon her as "unsere liebe Frau von der Geduld" in *Abu Telfan*, who sat quietly in her solitude for years, disputing with none, holding her door open for the wanderers, the hunted, and the persecuted, and closing it only to anger, hatred, and revenge (*Abu-T.*, 270). She is no less absolute in her motherhood than Wiechert's Gina in *Kleine Passion*, whose door is never locked in the "Land Ohneangst" to which her son may return at any time, day or night, in sorrow or in guilt, to be received with only the simple question: "Mein Kind, wolltest du heim?" (*Kleine Passion*, 349).

²⁴ *Der Todeskandidat* / *La ferme Morte* / *Der Vater* (München, 1934).

The *Hungerpastor's* Aunt Schlotterbeck, a pure invention of Raabe's, bears a striking resemblance to Wiechert's Aunt Veronika, who existed very much in the flesh. Just as Aunt Veronika made a poet of her young relative, according to his own account, Aunt Schlotterbeck fed the dreams and encouraged the imaginative nature of her young friend. She too, like Aunt Veronika, was a past mistress of the great art of story-telling and an expert in the fairy-tale. "Den Gebrüdern Grimm hätte sie Märchen erzählen können," (*Hpst.*, 26). Aunt Schlotterbeck, moreover, had the same uncanny gift of meeting the dead on the streets in full daylight and holding practical conversations with them: "die Gestorbenen waren für sie nicht abgeschieden von der Erde, sie sah sie durch die Gassen schreiten, sie begegneten ihr auf den Märkten, wie man Lebendige sieht und unvermutet an einer Ecke auf sie stößt" (*Hpst.*, 25). Similarly, Wiechert tells us that his Aunt Veronika had the quality of being able to see figures in broad daylight which the average human eye could not behold. She reported fantastic conversations with the dead to the wide-eyed little boy (*Wälder*, 92 f.).

Wiechert's earliest memory of the Bible is connected with Aunt Veronika's recital of the chapter from Ecclesiastes that speaks of a season for all things under the sun (*Wälder*, 90); Hans Unwirrsch's life work was determined by the Book of Books, from which, among others, he learned to read, and by the simple grandeur and graphic concreteness of its history and imagery (*Hpst.*, 28). The Lithuanian *Tante* and the North German *Base* share not only the *Spökenkiekerei*, the ability to see spooks, but they have a simple basic piety which imparts ethical substance to their enjoyment of the dramatic and narrative poetic elements of the Bible. Each represents but one factor in the education of a sensitive child, but that factor is a determining one. Wiechert writes, at the end of his life: "Und einmal möchte ich still und ohne Angst in das große Schweigen gehen und noch einmal die schönen Verse aus dem Prediger Salomo hören, die an meinem Ursprung standen und die Tante Veronika . . . zu lesen pflegte: 'Ein jegliches hat seine Zeit . . .'" (*Jahre*, 434). Raabe knows Ecclesiastes too and refers to the same passage in *Lorenz Scheibenhart*: "Ja, ja, alles hat seine Zeit: Pflanzen und Ausrotten, Heilen und Würgen, Bauen und Brechen, Lieben und Hassen, Friede und Streit . . ." (I, 2, 363).

* * * *

To conclude this limited study of the results of Raabe's impact on Wiechert's thinking, the mind turns unbidden to Wiechert's legacy, the novel *Missa sine nomine*.²⁵ Not explicitly, but implicitly, it is a translucent exposition of the dedicatory lines from Sophocles' *Antigone* which constitute the theme of the *Hungerpastor* and which stand on the title page: "Nicht mit zu hassen, mit zu lieben bin ich da." The author who had thought he could not write the third volume of the

²⁵ *Missa sine nomine*, (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1950).

trilogy which spelled the doom of his homeland has in effect done so after all. In 1848-49 he had not known whether he would write another book. "Wenn ich mein Gewissen frage, so werde ich es tun müssen bis zur letzten Stunde, aber wenn ich mein Herz frage, so möchte ich es nicht" (*Jahre*, 434). It was a safe assumption that a writer of Wiechert's ethical stature would not sit back idly while he still thought he had a "message." In his last novel he has permitted a small group of people to escape from such a village as Sowirog, he has re-established this remnant in another environment amid all the confusion of the aftermath of World War II, so that this little settlement appears, to paraphrase Raabe, "in einer bösen Zeit . . . das Lachen ist teuer geworden in der Welt . . . es ist Herbst, trauriger, melancholischer Herbst . . ." ²⁶ Yet, though Wiechert reports faithfully the cruelties of the concentration camps, the hatreds of the Third Reich, and the extinction of refugees who perished along the road of flight, his conclusion is affirmative. When we have turned the last page of this "Mass Without a Name" we have been listening to a memorial service for the dead and a plea for the living. Hatreds have been submerged in human and social responsibilities, and the future is vested in the child:

Amadeus, während seine . . . Augen sich immer tiefer mit dem großen Abendrot erfüllten, glaubte dasselbe zu sehen, was der Mann am Rande des Moores vielleicht sah: die Unvergänglichkeit des Lebens (*Missa*, 557).

²⁶ Opening lines of *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse*, written during the winter of 1854-55.



THE EDUCATION OF HANS CASTORP

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It is now almost thirty years since Thomas Mann's novel *Der Zauberberg* was first published. Since then two full-length books and a number of articles have been devoted to this work while perhaps a score of other books contain chapters or lengthy treatments of it. In the presence of this imposing demonstration of scholarship, headed by Professor Weigand's brilliant work, it seems perhaps unnecessary and presumptuous to add yet another stone to an edifice which already bids fair to disappear in the clouds.

Yet there are certain puzzling questions which have either never been asked and answered or could be answered differently. These questions center around the components, the direction, and the effectiveness of the hero's *Bildung* in a novel which is generally considered the outstanding twentieth-century example of the *Bildungsroman*. During the recorded part of the conversation between Hans and Clawdia during the Walpurgis Night Hans had summed up the education of his first seven months as "le corps, l'amour, la mort," adding: "Ces trois ne font qu'un." It is relatively easy to define the experiences to which Hans refers although considerable doubt might exist, for instance, as to whether *l'amour* includes only his affection for Clawdia or, in a wider sense, the whole encounter with the eroticism so prevalent at the sanatorium. But one might well wonder about the educational aspects of the next six years and five months, about their effect on Hans, if any, and ask the question in what respects Hans is really a changed person when he descends from the Magic Mountain in the fall of 1914.

The key to many of our questions would seem to lie in the contents of the chapter "Schnee," which, we believe, stands in need of a re-definition and a re-interpretation. It is a masterful application of the stream-of-consciousness technique used, among others, by James Joyce, Thomas Wolfe, and William Faulkner. In general, the tenor of all interpretations has run something like this: up to this chapter Hans Castorp has first become acquainted and then deepened his intimacy with death. His interest in disease, his sympathy with the moribundi, his frequent agreement with the opinions of Naphta, but above all his love which has no future, have lessened his will to live. Lost in the snow he is faced with a crucial test. He is about to give himself up to death, but, as the result of a visionary dream, he overcomes his yearning for death, gathers himself together and pledges himself to the cause of life. He firmly rejects the mastery of death and hails the power of love as a positive antidote. From here on, death has lost its power over him. When war breaks out, he finds in it the challenge for which he

has been waiting, and he descends into the plains to fight for his country and probably to lose his life.

In connection with the chapter "Schnee" Hermann J. Weigand says: "Here, in the affirmation of life, worked out as a principle, transcending the dualism and the dialectics of the two pedagogical fencers, we have without question the spiritual climax of the whole novel. Hovering there between life and death, Hans Castorp is for a moment elevated to a position of clarity that marks the acme of his capacity to span the poles of cosmic experience. The vision fades almost at once, but it leaves a residual effect on his personality that time cannot obliterate."¹ The decisive turn from death to life is seen by Eloesser, who says: "This book describes a victory; it begins with a dance of death at dusk and ends with a clarion call of life at dawn."² Lydia Baer says that "... since the *Zauberberg* Thomas Mann has been proclaiming the gospel of Life with an increasing vigor and earnestness,"³ thus claiming for the author a similar turning away from death and interest in life which others have claimed for Hans Castorp after the snow scene. All authors seem agreed that "the great thunderclap" of 1914 aroused Hans from his sleep to lead him back to the plains for better or for worse.

But this theory is not entirely convincing. That Hans Castorp becomes thoroughly preoccupied with death prior to his excursion into the snow is an obvious fact. That he turns away from the side of death and that he decides to take a renewed interest in life, is also a fact. But the reader might look at the remaining 334 pages which follow the snow scene and ask: How does Hans Castorp express his new interest in life? Does he make any attempt to burst the chains that hold him? Does he engage in activities or find new interests which express a more positive attitude toward life? The answer to all these questions must be negative. Between "Schnee" and "Der Donnerschlag" lie almost five years of continued lethargy. During this time his health improves to a point where Doctor Behrens himself can no longer explain the causes of his high temperature. The causes for his detention, the tubercular spots on his lung, are gone. During these five years he has three great experiences: the acquaintance with Mynheer Peeperkorn, music, and the séance. The Peeperkorn affair lasts about six months, his musical infatuation perhaps another six months, and the séance one night. Between these experiences lie years and years of *Stumpfsinn*, infertile periods during which Hans Castorp merely vegetates. Why does he stay?

Another question which the reader might ask himself is why Hans Castorp finally leaves the magic mountain. Throughout the novel he

¹ Hermann J. Weigand, *Thomas Mann's Novel "Der Zauberberg"* (New York, 1933), p. 23.

² Arthur Eloesser, *Thomas Mann. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1925), p. 206.

³ Lydia Baer, *The Concept and Function of Death in the Works of Thomas Mann* (diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1932), p. 7.

has never exhibited a trace of patriotism, and his lack of concern for political and international affairs had even been chided by his Western mentor. It is unlikely then that the outbreak of war meant much to him, the civilian. The sudden exodus of his fellow-patients must have meant nothing to him who cared so little for their company. Realistically speaking, it is unlikely that a patient at a tuberculosis sanatorium would receive a call from the German Army, especially at such an early date. The prospect of being separated for years from his few Hamburg relatives could hardly have affected the young man who had given up the correspondence with them long ago. In other words, the great thunderclap could not have been more than a dull thud for our hero.

To answer these questions, let us go back for a moment to Hans Castorp as he is marooned in the snowy loneliness. As he leans against the hut, he is overwhelmed by a desire to give in to the voluptuous pleasure of complete abandonment. He then has a dream, consisting of two consecutive parts, both dealing with pleasure and enjoyment. The first takes place in a Mediterranean-Arcadian landscape, filled with a mild sun and a blue sky under which civilized youths play, smile, and rest. There are deep and vivid colors, and the air is filled with the voice of a famous Italian tenor (no doubt, Caruso), accompanied by the singing of birds. The scene is peopled by many young men and women who engage in dancing, archery, boating or talking. Occasionally, the dreamer sees individual figures, a young woman who reaches for some fruit, a beautiful boy standing apart from his mates. It is a scene of disciplined Eros, and the sleeping Hans Castorp says: "... how fresh and healthy, happy and clever they look! It is not alone the outward form, they seem to be wise and gentle through and through. That is what makes me in love with them, the spirit that speaks out of them, the sense, I might almost say, in which they live and play together."⁴ From this scene he enters into a temple and here experiences the second part of his dream. In the chamber he sees two half-naked and very ugly women who are tearing apart the body of a small blond child and are devouring it, loudly cracking the child's bones between their jaws. When they become aware of Castorp's presence, they wildly curse him. Overcome by stark horror he leaves and awakens.

The two worlds which Hans Castorp has seen in his dream are those of Love and Death. The world of the shepherds, the sunny Arcadia is permeated by Love and Friendship, and the feeling of *Verliebtheit* which it arouses in Hans is part of the testimony. The element of death and horror which is contained in the other scene (a scene which contains elements of the *Hexenküche* and the *Walpurgisnacht* from Goethe's *Faust*) is evident. The important feature is that these two worlds are separated merely by a long colonnade and a stairway which leads

⁴ Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, translated by Helen Lowe-Porter (New York, 1951), p. 492.

into the temple of the second part of the dream. Now we understand the somberness which was present in the midst of the gaiety of the first landscape. Now we can understand the expression in the face of the beautiful boy, "... a solemnity that looked as though carved out of stone, inexpressive, unfathomable, a death-like reserve, which gave the scarcely reassured Hans Castorp a thorough fright, not unaccompanied by a vague apprehension of its meaning" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 493). The proximity of these two worlds symbolizes their actual relationship to each other. For this is the lesson that Hans Castorp learns in the snow: that love and death are closely related, that to love means to surrender a vital part of oneself, that death is innate in life, a factor to be reckoned with at a very early age. Consciousness of this innateness robs death of its terrors, and the crucial difference between intelligent and unintelligent people is their attitude toward death. It is important to remember that those who die in the most dignified manner, Naphta and Peeperkorn, have thought about the problem of death and know why they are dying, while others struggle against it as if they could thus ward it off. When Hans Castorp awakens from his dream and feels new strength, he decides that he will keep love and death apart, that he will honor death but try to keep it only in the back of his mind. Exhilarated by a new will to live, he falls victim to an illusion: that death and love are contrasts (love stands opposed to death), and it is then that he vows: "For the sake of goodness and love, man shall let death have no sovereignty over his thoughts" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 496-7).

Hans Castorp's snow experience is quite similar in content and significance to Thomas Buddenbrook's Schopenhauer experience. Both are concerned with the problem of meaning in death, both are short, exhilarating and relatively inconsequential experiences. "I shall live!" he whispered into his pillow, cried, and a moment later no longer knew why."⁵ This is said of Senator Buddenbrook. And of Hans Castorp right after the quotation above: "For I have dreamed it out to the end . . . Yes, I am in simple raptures, my body is warm, my heart beats high and knows why . . . it streams through my veins like love and life, I tear myself from my dream and sleep, knowing as I do, perfectly well, that they are highly dangerous to my young life." But a page later: "He ate enormously at dinner. What he had dreamed was already fading from his mind. What he had thought — even that selfsame evening it was no longer so clear as it had been at first" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 497-8). And the "heroic" intentions above remain just that.

Thus, if we look at "Schnee" as a glorious episode without consequences, we can understand why Hans Castorp must stay on at the magic mountain, though he is physically well. He lacks the will to implement the decisions which he made in the snow, and the force

⁵ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, translated by Helen Lowe-Porter (New York, 1938), p. 528.

which undermines his will is love. For to believe that Hans Castorp is no longer in love after Clawdia's departure (either the first or the second) is a complete fallacy. His love now lacks an object of fixation, or rather it is a love for love. The best illustration for this fact is Hans Castorp's choice of musical favorites, as described in the chapter "Polyhymnia." His passion for music, caused by the installation of a phonograph, comes some time during the latter years of his stay at Berghof. His five favorite records are: the final scene ("La fatal pietra") from Verdi's *Aida*, Debussy's "Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune," the fourth scene from Act II of Bizet's *Carmen*, Valentin's prayer from Gounod's *Faust*, and Franz Schubert's "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore."

Every one of these musical favorites has a personal meaning for Hans which is bound up with his love and his preoccupation with death. Toward the end of Verdi's opera, Radames is confronted with the choice of feigning love for Princess Amneris, which would mean his liberation, or of openly re-affirming his love for the slave, Aida, which means certain death. The inseparability of love and death is here pictured in a most poignant manner by Wagner's great contemporary. In full consciousness, Radames chooses to lose both his honor and his life.

Debussy's masterpiece, composed in 1894, was based on a poem by Stéphane Mallarmé, written in 1875. Mallarmé's poem, set in a summer afternoon in Sicily, expresses a faun's desire to maintain the memory of a beloved pair of nymphs. The theme of the poem is the faun's effort to eternalize erotic memory. The scene is very similar to that in Hans Castorp's first dream in the snow. The faun tries to express his sensual pleasures by means of a flute, but breaks off in disappointment when he finds that the instrument cannot begin to tell the story. He has been dreaming of a troop of naiads who fled at the first sound of his flute. In his pursuit of them — we cannot be entirely sure whether he is awake or still dreaming — he comes upon two nymphs asleep in a careless embrace. He seizes them and carries them off toward a bed of roses, where he covers their bodies with kisses in spite of their resistance. But the wrath of the gods is aroused when they see the faun trying to violate the virginity of the nymphs. They punish him with a sudden feebleness, and the nymphs escape from him. After a long silence he consoles himself with the thought of future delights, which do not even stop at the thought of ravishing Venus. But at this point the faun is already half-asleep and will soon plunge back into the night in which his realities become dreams and dreams seem real.

De paroles vacantes et ce corps alourdi
Tard succombent au fier silence de midi
Sans plus il faut dormir en l'oubli du blasphème,
Sur le sable altéré gisant et comme j'aime
Ouvrir ma bouche à l'astre efficace des vins!

Couple, adieu; je vais voir l'ombre que tu devins.⁶

The faun's lassitude, his abandonment to the dream world is, of course, characteristic of the lover who cannot find ideal love in the real world. But there is a great deal more to this poem. When the faun lapses back into sleep he admits to defeat in his attempt to narrate his passion, to describe sensuousness, to find a form for voluptuousness. For the collapse of the poetic narrative in the face of sleep means the defeat of reason at the hands of the senses; discipline loses to lassitude, form to formlessness. At the sound of Debussy's music (Debussy is said to have declared that in writing his tone poem he followed Mallarmé verse by verse) Hans Castorp, too, loses himself, and his amorous attention, once fixed upon a single being, is now devoted to the huge realm of romantic love, symbolized by romantic music, a realm in which death and love rule from neighboring thrones. "Forgetfulness held sway, a blessed hush, the innocence of those places where time is not; 'slackness' with the best conscience in the world, the very apotheosis of rebuff to the Western world and that world's insensate ardour for the 'dead'" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 646).

The struggle between duty and love finds its expression again through José, who loves Carmen, the gypsy. José's choice comes in Act II, when he wishes to return to the barracks but is held back by Carmen, who proposes that they ride off to the mountains and into the blue yonder. José yields gradually, especially after he hears of the existence of a rival. Drawn by Carmen's great charms and her promises, he finally sighs: "How can I say no?" and he receives the answer:

'Tis much against thy wish,
But whate'er may be,
Thou wilt be glad when thou seest
How pleasant is this wandering life, —
The wide world our dwelling —
Our will the law — and, above all,
The rest surpassing —
Liberty! Liberty!⁷

José, too, will enjoy the advantages of freedom, only to lose his honor, and no doubt his life at the end.

The fourth record is Valentin's prayer. Its importance for Hans Castorp lies in the fact that it reminds him of Joachim, his cousin and perhaps his only friend. During the years between his arrival at Berghof and Joachim's death, Hans' feeling for his cousin became more and more cordial. When Joachim leaves, Hans follows his train with his eyes and "filled with grief." When Joachim telegraphs that he is going to return, Hans is overjoyed though he realizes that his cousin's health must be worse. During Joachim's last few weeks Hans exhibits real

⁶ Stéphane Mallarmé, "Poèmes," *Nouvelle Revue Française* (Paris, 1917) p. 79-80.

⁷ *Carmen*, Act II, Scene 5.

love for him (he, who has only loved Hippe and Clawdia before), and the sober, young North German even goes so far as to place his arm around Joachim's shoulder during a walk. He admires the beauty in the face of the moribund cousin, and when he is dead, Hans kisses him on the forehead "setting aside his natural reserve." Love for his dead friend is the significance behind the love for this record.

But most important of the five records is Schubert's "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore." It is the only German text and music among the five records, and it makes the deepest impression on him. Its melody and words are on his lips as he stumbles across the war-torn fields of Western Europe.

The linden tree in Wilhelm Müller's poem is a symbol of romantic love. Significantly enough, it is located near a well whose depth and water suggest infinity and illimitability. The love of which the young man in the poem sings is from the very outset a highly unspecific and general love. The words which he carves into the tree's bark do not constitute the name of a beloved woman: they are "so manches liebe Wort," and the use of the word "immer" ("es zog in Freud' und Leide zu ihm mich immer fort") strengthens the impression that the young man is in a permanent state of love. The inseparability of love and suffering is a bitter-sweet experience to him. But the linden tree is also a symbol of death which contains both the highest fulfillment of love and an end to love's suffering. The lure of this death can be heard in the rustle of the tree leaves and its branches as they call the singer:

Komm her zu mir, Geselle!

Hier findest du deine Ruh!

The young man who sings the song has not yet succumbed to the seductive message of the tree. The cold winds of reality blow in his face and sweep his hat from his head. But the whispered words, "Du fändest Ruhe dort," remain with him. He will either return to the tree or else live a life yearning for its shade. In mood and message this song is much like Goethe's "Der Fischer," which links death and love in a like mysterious and powerful fashion.

To Hans Castorp, who no longer loves a person, but love itself, the song and its alluring message must have a deep significance. The author calls the attempt to assess the song's meaning for Hans "a most ticklish endeavor," but then proceeds:

May we take it that our simple hero, after so many years of hermetic-pedagogic discipline, of ascent from one stage of being to another, has now reached a point where he is conscious of the 'meaningfulness' of his love and the object of it? We assert, we record, that he has. To him the song meant a whole world, a world which he must have loved, else he could not have so desperately loved that which it represented and symbolized to him. We know what we are saying when we add — perhaps

rather darkly — that he might have had a different fate if his temperament had been less accessible to the charms of the sphere of feeling, the general attitude of mind, which the *Lied* so profoundly, so mystically epitomized. The truth was that his very destiny has been marked by stages, adventures, insights, and these flung up in his mind suitable themes for his 'stock-taking' activities, and these, in their turn, ripened him into an intuitional critic of this sphere, of this its absolutely exquisite image, and his love of it. To the point even that he was quite capable of bringing up all three as objects of his conscientious scruples!

Only one totally ignorant of the tender passion will suppose that such scruples can detract from the object of love. On the contrary, they but give it spice. It is they which lend love the spur of passion, so that one might almost define passion as misgiving love. But wherein lay Hans Castorp's conscientious and stock-taking misgiving, as to the ultimate propriety of his love for the enchanting *Lied* and the world whose image it was? What was the world behind the song, which the motions of his conscience made to seem a world of forbidden love? It was death (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 651-2).

After Hans has become enamored of this song and its philosophy (or rather his interpretation of its philosophy), he is filled with *Heimweh*, not for Germany or for the plains, but for death. From here on everything becomes unreal. The passage of time, the occult happenings, the bickerings among the patients, and even the duel seem strangely vague and formless. When war breaks out, Hans sees in it the great opportunity to commit an honorable suicide. Nothing else could explain Hans' presence on the battlefield. He desires death, but he is sufficiently steeped in a German-Protestant tradition to eschew the type of suicide that Naphta and Peeperkorn committed by their own hand or the type that many of the guests chose by having "one last fling." With a song of death on his lips, he stumbles into his uncertain, certain future.

To see *Der Zauberberg* as a novel in which death triumphs over life, Schopenhauer over Nietzsche, passivity over activity and surrender over struggle is not to rob the novel of any of the positive qualities which have rightly been attributed to it. *Der Zauberberg* remains a pedagogical novel, though not necessarily a didactic novel. Thomas Mann confesses his deep sympathy for Hans Castorp and his life and death as well as for all the Hans Castorps in the world but has no intention of exhorting us to be or do like him.

There can be no doubt about the sympathetic interest which Mann takes in the fate of his hero. Without ever completely identifying himself with Hans, he nevertheless seems to be at one with most of his thoughts and ideas. As Hans Castorp disappears from view into the din of battle, the author confesses: ". . . we will not disclaim the pedagogic weakness we conceived for you in the telling; which could

even lead us to press a finger delicately to our eyes at the thought that we shall see you no more, hear you no more for ever" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 715-6). It is then that he sums up most succinctly the results of Hans Castorp's education. "Adventures of the flesh and in the spirit, while enhancing thy simplicity, granted thee to know in the spirit what in the flesh thou scarcely couldst have done. Moments there were, when out of death, and the rebellion of the flesh, there came to thee, as thou tookest stock of thyself, a dream of love" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 716). "Death and the rebellion of the flesh," this formula sums up the combined influences of Naphta and Settembrini, Behrens and Krokowski, Hippe and Clawdia, Joachim and Pieter Peeperkorn, and all the theory and practice which Hans encounters at Berghof, none of which he embraces.

Throughout the novel, the detrimental effect which love has on the human will is stressed. It is not only the will to act, but primarily the will to live which is being sapped. Hans Castorp's diminishing will is shown when he refuses to heed Settembrini's warning to depart; it is shown again when he follows Behrens' call to be examined by him; it results in his failure to depart with Joachim and in his rebuff to James Tienappel, the representative whom the plains send to retrieve him. But there are also instances when Hans refuses the embrace of nonaction: he rallies in the snow and decides to live; he turns on the light at the séance and dispels the occult hocus-pocus.

What Hans Castorp really seeks in the latter stages of his stay at the sanatorium is a sort of Nirvana. Work and activity have no place in such a world. Its two essential features, which make possible contemplation, are inactivity and timelessness. Both of these Hans achieves perfectly. We find again, as we had before, that music plays the part of hastening the disintegration of the will. It is indefinable and illimitable like the sea, and its mystic quality makes it "politically suspect" to the clear thinker, Settembrini. The paralysis of the will enables Hans to enjoy the advantages of freedom, but debars him from creative activity.

If the concept of love as a paralyzing agent is familiar to us, there is also nothing new in the linking of love and death. It was an element of numerous stories and of the *Buddenbrooks*. It is a typically romantic concept. Mann sympathizes with the romantic philosophy. His "Sympathie mit dem Tode" is not a devotion to death, but a realization of its presence in life. As Lydia Baer puts it: "The innateness of Death in human life is Thomas Mann's mature view. It coincides with Simmel's idea, that Death is innate in human life, and that consciousness of this innateness would rob Death of its terrors. Death is a function of organic being, just as it is a function of every seed to flower at some time" (Baer, p. 50). This consciousness is what Hans Castorp strives for, and love is a prime agent in its attainment.

When Mann speaks in the quotation above of "rebellion of the flesh," and "love," he makes an important distinction. For "rebellion of the flesh," a term which does not mean obscenity to him, is Eros, love between two people, or even love for love's sake. But the "love" to which he refers above is a greater love for all humanity and everything human. It is the difference between passion and *agape*, which is here outlined clearly for the first time. In *Der Zauberberg* Thomas Mann hails the concept of the middle. This concept has been very important to him all his life. Politically, philosophically, and culturally, Mann has always advocated the middle course between ultra-conservatism and reckless radicalism. Neither his conservative views, expressed in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, nor his more recent utterances, leaning toward socialism, are in reality great deviations from such a middle course. Philosophically, he stands between Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Culturally, he exhibits influences of France and Russia without ever denying his German heritage. His work steers a middle course between naturalism and romanticism, between realism and symbolism, between *Natur* and *Geist*.

In Eros the middle concept means a renunciation of violent desires and emotions, an erotically-conscious moderation which contributes its pedagogical effect toward greater humanism. In *Königliche Hoheit* the same idea had been expressed firmly and optimistically, sure of its truth and efficacy. But the Thomas Mann of 1925 — fourteen years older and the witness of a universal catastrophe — ends his master novel more cautiously with a question mark. "Out of this universal feast of death, out of this extremity of fever, kindling the rain-washed evening sky to a fiery glow, may it be that Love one day shall mount?" (*The Magic Mountain*, p. 716).



JOHANN CHRISTOPH WAGENSEIL, POLYMATH

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If Johann Christoph Wagenseil, the seventeenth-century polymath, has been largely neglected by scholarly investigation, this may be partly due to the fact that he properly belongs neither to literature nor to philology nor to theology. Yet he left his mark on all three. In his life and work, the remarkable Altdorf professor presents a somewhat exasperating blend of impressive erudition and unscholarly obfuscation of materials and issues. But his very versatility and inconsistency make him a fascinating character. One of the best-known of the seventeenth-century *Universalgelehrte* or *Polyhistoren*, Wagenseil was a jurist, theologian, Classicist, Yiddishist, Orientalist, Hebraist, Germanist, Comparatist, and historian; certainly he was one of the most learned men of his time. Nevertheless, his accuracy and reliability as a scholar were doubted even by his contemporaries.¹ One encounters the fabulous figure and wide-ranging work of the professor in a variety of contexts: He was E. T. A. Hoffmann's guide on the poet's imaginary visit to the Wartburg singing contest, as described in *Der Kampf der Snger*; Hoffmann also drew on Wagenseil in his stories *Das Frulein von Scuderi*, *Meister Martin der Kfner und seine Gesellen*, and *Der Feind*;² two Wagner operas, *Tannhuser* and *Die Meistersinger*, are based on material first made available by Wagenseil.³ Wagenseil's best-known work, his *Chronik von Nrnberg*⁴ with an appendix on the *Meistersinger* school there, probably the first German example of the history of a literary genre, has kindled the imagination of numerous scholars, poets, and musicians. Wagenseil is often mentioned by Jewish scholars as the first editor or translator of Hebrew and Yiddish texts, yet Wagenseil's attitude toward the Jews does not seem to have been treated in detail to date.

Born in Nrnberg in 1633, Wagenseil was educated in Stockholm, Greifswald, and Rostock, and after 1649 at the University of Altdorf. On his travels throughout Europe Wagenseil gathered knowledge and curiosities; he became a member of numerous learned societies. In 1665 he received a Doctorate of Laws from the University of Orleans and two years later accepted the professorship of history and civil law at Altdorf. In 1674 he started to specialize in oriental languages. He turned down a call to Leyden University as an Orientalist in 1693 and started

¹ Johann ab Indagine wrote of him: "Wer Wagenseilen in historischen Sachen einmal hat kennen lernen, der trauet ihm nicht so leicht mehr." Quoted by Georg Andreas Will, *Nrnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexikon* IV (Nrnberg und Altdorf, 1758), p. 148.

² Cf. H. W. Hewett-Thayer, *Hoffmann: Author of the Tales* (Princeton, 1948).

³ Cf. Ernest Newman, *The Wagner Operas* (New York, 1949); Herbert Thompson, *Wagner and Wagenseil* (London, 1927); A. M. Bowen, *The Sources and Text of Richard Wagner's Opera Die Meistersinger*, (diss. Cornell, Munich, 1897).

⁴ *De civitate Noribergensi commentatio* (Altdorf, 1697).

teaching canon law at Altdorf in 1697. He twice served as *Dekan* and as *Rektor* of that university and became its librarian in 1699. His death occurred in 1705.

Wagenseil's numerous published works cover a great variety of subjects, ranging from heraldry and the language of the New Testament to ancient Roman coins and the upbringing of children. Most of his works on the law and philology were products of his academic career and have little more than historical interest today. Written mainly in Latin and in German, most of them are characterized by extreme discursiveness, pedantic pomposity, and in general an uncritical approach to the material. In such works as *Infundibila* (a method of learning many things more easily) and *Von der Erziehung eines jungen Prinzen, der vor allen Studien einen Abscheu hat, daß er dennoch gelehrt und geschickt werde* (Leipzig, 1705), Wagenseil strikingly and amusingly anticipated certain modern "educational" schemes. Wagenseil considered himself an intellectual and social *arbiter elegantiarum*, an original thinker, inventor, and benefactor of mankind generally.⁵ His work *De civitate Noribergensi*, a chronicle of Nürnberg, which includes the famous section *Von der Meistersinger Origine, Praestantia, Utilitate et Institutis sermone vernaculo liber*, is a confused and confusing work which fails to give sources; but in spite of its baroque prolixity it is a pioneer work, good in parts, and of undeniable usefulness.⁶

Wagenseil's philological and theological pursuits, as well as his attitude toward the Jews generally, led him to issue in 1699 his *Belehrung der jüdisch-teutschen Red- und Schreibart*. This Yiddish manual and chrestomathy for the first time directed the attention of scholars to a singular and rather extensive body of literature and brought to light its most important representatives. It is apparently also one of the earliest monographs on literary history. It was antedated only by the work of the Basel professor Johannes Buxtorf, who, in 1609, had devoted an appendix of his Hebrew grammar to a discussion of the early phase of Yiddish. The *Belehrung*, a curious mixture of scholarship and nonsense, has a literary importance comparable only to Wagenseil's writing on the *Meistersinger*. It leads one to a general consideration of Wagenseil's feelings towards the Jews.

In his recently-published *Philosemitismus im Barock*,⁷ Hans Joachim Schoeps, in appraising Christian students and propagators of Judaica, distinguishes five types of philosemitism observable from classical antiquity to the present: 1) the Christian missionary type, which has a certain positive, benevolent attitude toward the Jews; 2) the Biblical-

⁵ He invented a *Hydraspis* (watershield) for the prevention of drowning, which was found to work both at Vienna and in the Lake of Zürich, but it was said that he did not originate it. Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 40, 481.

⁶ Cf. Archer Taylor, *The Literary History of Meistergesang* (New York, 1937); Kurt Mey, *Der Meistergesang in Geschichte und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901).

⁷ Tübingen, 1952.

Chilastic type, interested in the Jews because they will have a role to play in the last act of the drama of this world; 3) the utilitarian type, which sees material advantages in the existence of the Jews; 4) the liberal-humanitarian type, which regards the Jews as the touchstone for their principles of tolerance and equal rights for all; and 5) the religious type, which, for reasons of faith, propagates Judaism and even favors conversion to it.⁸ The evidence of his writings and activities places Wagenseil among the first type. Far from being interested in pure scholarship, Wagenseil published the *Belehrung* to add to the available knowledge about the Jews and to facilitate their conversion.

The scholarly material in the work is marred by the uncritical presentation and the tasteless, absurd *Fürtrag*. In it, Wagenseil promises to teach Yiddish in a few hours to anyone who speaks German. He believes that the work will be of great use to counsellors, doctors, lawyers, theologians, government officials, and tradesmen who need to know this "Kauderwelsch," this "German written in Hebrew characters." Referring to Yiddish alternately as "Jüdisch-Teutsch" and "Teutsch-Hebräisch" (*sic*), he complains that the Jews have perverted the German language, truncated and distorted words, devised new ones, and mixed in Hebrew expressions. Wagenseil cites legal cases and tells anecdotes to show the attitudes and actions of the Jews as affected by their religion. Wagenseil's confused and misguided statements are not surprising when one considers that he had attempted to prove in the preface to his Nuremberg chronicle that the gypsies are descended from Jews of German extraction!

The literary part of the *Belehrung* starts with a bilingual printing of the Talmudic book on leprosy. This is followed by three Passover songs, including the well-known *Ekhad mi yodea* and *Khad gadyo*. The *Vinz-Hans-Lied* (by Elhanan ben Abraham Hakohen) describes the massacre instigated at Frankfurt in 1614 by Vincenz Fettmilch. The most unusual section of the primer is the printing of an Arthurian romance, *Ein schön Maase. Von König Artis Hof und von dem berühmten Ritter Wieduwilt*. This is a Yiddish version, ascribed to Josel Witzzenhausen, of *Wigalois* by Wirnt von Gravenberg (1204). Witzzenhausen published it for the first time in Yiddish and many later printings utilized his version, but Wagenseil's printing followed the original most closely. Although Wagenseil gives no bibliographies or scholarly information, his edition was used often. A century later an anonymous writer based a curious prose version on it: *Vom Könige Artus und von dem bildschönen Ritter Wieduwilt. Ein Ammenmärchen*, Leipzig, 1786.⁹ Wa-

⁸ In his *Story of Yiddish Literature* (New York, 1940), p. 378, A. A. Roback lists four similar types derived from prefaces to Yiddish grammars edited by German professors: 1) missionary zeal, 2) purely scientific spirit, 3) commercial purpose, 4) patriotic fervor.

⁹ Cf. Leo Landau, *Hebrew-German Romances and Tales, I, Arthurian Legends. Teutonia*, Heft 21, 1912.

genseil's anthology also offers graded readings in Yiddish, including *Derekh erets* ("Way of the Land," an introduction to good morals), several *Maases* (stories), a treatise on the problem of whether the Bible permits a man to marry two sisters in succession, and excerpts from the *Mishna*.

Several other works by Wagenseil reflect his interest in the Jews. He translated material from the Talmud into German and edited, translated, and collated many Hebrew texts. In *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israels* (Nürnberg, 1707) Wagenseil recommends Christian rulers to treat the Jews benevolently and gradually to restore their civil liberties, as had been done in Italy, since suppression only served to impede their conversion. Wagenseil always noted with pleasure evidences of assimilation on the part of Jews, e. g. Christian dress, the shaving off of beards, the employment of Gentile tutors to teach children the vernacular, etc. *Tela ignea Satanae* (*The Fiery Arrows of Satan*, 1681) contains, in addition to one hundred pages of formidably learned preliminaries, specimens of anti-Christian writings from Jewish sources — Messianic prophecies, synagogue sermons, parodies of the Gospel, Jewish epistles, and the like — which were intended to attack and discredit the Jews, and to prove that unconverted Jews constituted a menace to the Christian world. Wagenseil traveled widely in search of such material. Yet he was consistently opposed to maltreating or driving out the Jews, nor did he approve of forced baptism or conversion. He resolutely fought the age-old ritual murder lie and had many Jewish friends. Yet the *Tela ignea* only served to provide "scientific" support for such old hate-inspiring accusations. Wagenseil's feeling for the Jews might thus be reasonably described as a *Haßliebe*.

In spite of this, modern Jewish historians generally view Wagenseil favorably. Heinrich Graetz calls Wagenseil a good-hearted man, kindly disposed toward the Jews.¹⁰ He contrasts his work and influence with that of the Orientalist Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, a contemporary of Wagenseil, who repeated the accusation of ritual murder; the publication of his vicious *Entdecktes Judentum* was delayed only through the good offices of the Viennese Court Jew Samuel Oppenheim. Ismar Elbogen believes that Wagenseil shared the common view that Judaism and Jewish literature amounted to nothing but hate and vilification of Christianity.¹¹ Schoeps, while not treating Wagenseil in detail, has numerous references to this man, "der durch sein mannhaftes Eintreten gegen die Blutbeschuldigung bzw. Ritualmordlüge sowie gegen die gefährlichen Verdächtigungen des Alenu-Gebetes um die Juden sehr verdiente Altdorfer Professor J. C. Wagenseil."¹² He mentions Wagenseil's Altdorf as one of the main areas of rabbinical studies in Germany, along with Helmstedt,

¹⁰ *History of the Jews* (New York, 1895), V, p. 185.

¹¹ *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1935), p. 166.

¹² Schoeps, *Philosemitismus*, p. 67.

Jena, and Wittenberg. Wagenseil himself hailed the efforts of Manasseh ben Israel, the most famous Jew of the seventeenth century, author of *Vindiciae Judaearum*, the first Jewish theologian who also wrote for non-Jews, as a step in the right direction.

Wagenseil's great germinal influence is attested to by numerous instances. In 1717 Johann Jacob Schudt published his *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten, samt einer vollständigen Franckfurter Juden-Chronik*. This work reprinted some material originally published by Wagenseil, including the *Vinz-Hans-Lied*. Mark Waldman believes that young Goethe knew this work.¹³

It is evident that Wagenseil immeasurably added to his time's knowledge about the Jews. A child of his age and subject to the violent prejudices of the times, he tempered these prejudices with learning, enthusiasm, and indefatigable energy. Time has served to separate the spurious from the genuine; what has remained is the invaluable work of Wagenseil the editor, translator, mediator, and inspirer. Whatever his motivations in these pursuits may have been, the curious figure of Wagenseil merits study and remembrance.

¹³ *Goethe and the Jews* (New York, 1934), p. 37.



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Liepe, Wolfgang (Univ. of Chicago)
Loomis, C. Grant (Univ. of Calif., Berkeley)
Loose, Gerhard (Univ. of Colorado)
Penzl, Herbert (Univ. of Michigan)
Ryder, Frank G. (Dartmouth)
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Wooley, E. O. (Indiana Univ.)
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Blauth, Henry (Stanford)
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Ebelke, John (Wayne Univ.)
Eichholz, Erich (Univ. of Oklahoma)
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Peisel, Herbert (Syracuse Univ.)
Piel, Sara E. (Carnegie Inst. of Tech.)
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Weinrich, Max (New York City College)
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Winter, Werner (Univ. of Kansas)
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Schwarz, Egon (Univ. of Washington)
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Willson, A. Leslie (Wesleyan Univ.)
- V. To Rank of Associate:
Zagel, Milton (Iowa State Univ.)

DOCTORAL DEGREES GRANTED IN 1953

- Univ. of California, Berkeley: Richard Wilkie, "Christian Felix Weisse and his Relation to French and English Literature" (L. M. Price).
- Univ. of California, Los Angeles: Alice Cohn Hanberg, "The Humanism of Jakob Wassermann" (W. D. Hand and Committee).
- Univ. of Chicago: Jean Beck, "Goethe and Travel Literature" (John G. Kunstmann); Herbert Lederer, "Ethics in the Works of Schnitzler" (Wolfgang Liepe).
- Columbia Univ.: Pauline Steiner, "Isolde Kurz" (Hugh W. Puckett); Walter H. Sokel, "The Image of the Writer in the Work of German Expressionism" (André von Gronicka); George E. Condoyannis, "Some Landmarks of German-American Prose Narrative" (André von Gronicka).
- Harvard Univ.: Gerard F. Schmidt, "Das deutsche Prosa-Schachzabelbuch: Kritische Ausgabe" (Taylor Starck).
- Iowa State Univ.: Paul A. Graber, "Religious Types in Representative German Novels of the Enlightenment" (Erich Funke).
- Johns Hopkins Univ.: John Cary, "Antithesis in Fontane's Novels" (Ernst Feise); Werner Fries, "Technique of the Novelist Wassermann" (Ernst Feise); Judy Mendels, "Oldest Book on Mining, ca. 1500, Edition" (A. Schirokauer); Stanley Werbow, "Conjunctions in Time and Modality in ENHG" (A. Schirokauer).
- Univ. of Michigan: Herbert Kalbfleisch, "The History of the German Newspapers of Ontario, Canada, 1835-1918" (F. X. Braun); Herbert Schering, "Social and National Problems in the Work of Richard Dehmel" (F. B. Wahr).
- New York Univ., Wash. Sq.: Edward Ney, "Additional Light on Mme. de Krüdener's Life and Writings" (Ernst Rose); Emanuel Maier, "The Psychology of C. G. Jung in the Works of Herman Hesse" (Arthur Geismar).
- Univ. of N. Carolina: G. A. Harrer, Jr., "Isaac Pölmann's *Neuer Hochdeutscher Donat*" (Geo. S. Lane).
- Northwestern Univ.: D. Victoria Toms, "The Intellectual and Literary Background of Frances Daniel Pastorius" (Harold S. Jantz).
- Ohio State Univ.: Mrs. Elizabeth O'Bear, "The Significance of France in the Writings of Thomas Mann" (B. Blume).
- Penn. State College: Robert A. Charles, "French Intermediaries in the Transmission of German Literature and Culture to England, 1750-1815" (Philip A. Shelley).
- Univ. of Penn.: Salo Weindling, "Stefan George als Übersetzer Baudelaires" (Ernst Jockers).
- Princeton Univ.: Edson M. Chick, "Religion in the Works of Ernst Wiechert" (W. Hollmann); William J. Cooley, Jr., "Music in the Life and Works of Franz Grillparzer" (W. Silz).
- Stanford Univ.: Arval Louis Streadbeck, "Allusions to Christian Redemption in German Literature" (Mary A. Williams).
- Univ. of Texas: Mrs. Dorothea W. Dauer, "Buddhistic Influences on German Literature and Thought to the End of the 19th Century" (R. T. Clark, Jr.); Eugene E. Reed, "The Union of the Arts in the German Romantic Novel" (R. T. Clark, Jr.).
- Yale Univ.: C. P. Chisolm, "Nature in Stifter's Works" (H. Weigand); S. M. Johnson, "A Commentary on Wolfram's *Willehalm*" (H. Weigand); C. Wood, "Contributions to an Examination of Skaldic Word Order" (K. Reichardt); A. G. de Capua, Jr., "The Development of the Lyrical Anthology from the End of the Baroque Period to the Beginning of the *Sturm und Drang*" (von Faber du Faur).

NEWS AND NOTES

The Grade-School German Program In Holland, Michigan

In September, 1953, a pilot course in German was begun in the fourth grade of one elementary school in Holland, Michigan. During the preceding spring the plans were made for this course by a committee of public school personnel and members of the school board. In order to solve the problem of a teacher, I volunteered my services for the pilot course. As I have heretofore done only college teaching, it was felt that it would be easier for me to start with fourth-grade children rather than youngsters who had not as yet become well accustomed to schoolroom routines and procedures. I might say that I entered that first class session in September with some misgivings, but they were entirely unfounded. Never in any teaching have I had such a cooperative, enthusiastic, eager-to-learn group of students. The period at the grade school is my dessert course this year. Everyone (children, regular teachers, and especially myself) has a wonderful time in the elementary school German class.

At first I expected to have a single room of fourth-grade children, but due to the tremendous enrollments of our schools there had to be two sections made of the sixty children eligible for the fourth grade in Longfellow school. When the parents heard that one section would receive foreign language instruction, they all raised such a clamor that there was no choice but to offer the instruction to both sections. Consequently, I spend one-half hour a day at the school, each section getting fifteen minutes of my time, five days a week.

I have often been asked what the language instruction replaced in the curriculum. The answer is "nothing." Merely by a more efficient use of time, we found room for the language program. In other words the children don't waste so much time as formerly. One week I take one class first and the next week the other one first, as I find that the second time over the material always goes better, and this way the advantages are shared. I do want to stress that the entire fourth grade is included and not just the gifted children in the school. Since the program started, the school board and the administration have been receiving complaints from the parents of the children in the other three public elementary schools in town because their children are not getting any foreign language instruction, while the parents of the Longfellow school children are delighted and appreciative of the efforts and time expended in this way on their fourth-graders. So far as the other teachers are concerned, there may be some who are skeptical, but by far the majority are favorably disposed to the program and impressed by the work of the children. Several times each week I have a teacher or some other interested person visiting one of the classes.

For material I have prepared my own teacher's manual which I am correcting and revising as I go along. For the first few weeks I had the opportunity to use a student teacher as an assistant. I chose her from among my better students at the college. She was a great help in getting across the concept of introductions and greetings. I have used only the

German language in class, and for many weeks the children were under the impression that I could not speak or understand English. At first I greeted them in German, then greeted the student teacher who responded, then greeted the children again, repeating this procedure until I received a satisfactory response from the children individually and as a class. With thirty in each section, the classes are really larger than they ideally should be, but by calling on the children by rows or in small groups I can make sure that they all get a chance to speak almost individually as well as in chorus with the whole room. The more retiring and less gifted children, of course, would undoubtedly profit more from the program if the classes were smaller and I had the time to give each child more individual attention.

I have tried to limit the vocabulary to items and situations of interest to the child, and since there is no accepted criterion for how much must be covered in a year or semester, I have not been tempted to hurry them on to something new before they are ready. As soon as their attention seems to be waning, we go to a song or game utilizing the vocabulary they know, and they are instantly attentive again. To date the children have learned to greet others in German, ask a person's name and give his own; they know the names of the objects in the schoolroom and the actions that are appropriate for their use. In other words they can write on blackboard or paper, erase what they have written, obey commands to stand up or sit down, give the commands to another child, etc. They know how to tell time, to do simple arithmetic, count to one hundred, the names for the parts of the body and their clothing, and the colors of things. They have learned a number of songs, including four Christmas carols, a few poems, a prayer, and some games.

All of the children, even the dumbest, seem to love the language class. The regular teachers report that it is the high point in their day. In fact one little boy came up to me the last day before the holidays and asked if there were not some way to hold the German class right through Christmas vacation, although he admitted that he didn't care much about the rest of the things he did in school. All in all, the experience has been most rewarding and more than ever I am convinced that the elementary school is the place to start our modern language instruction.

Hope College

—Ernest E. Ellert

University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference

The Seventh University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference will be held April 22-24. The general theme will be: The Seven Ages of Man in Language Education.

In addition to the general sessions there will be sections devoted to German, French, Spanish, Italian, Classical Languages, Slavonic Languages, Biblical and Patristic Languages, Comparative Literature, Linguistics, sections dealing with the teaching of Classical and Modern Languages in both elementary and high schools. A Folklore section will appear for the first time on this year's program.

At the Conference last year, forty states and eight foreign countries

were represented. A total of 610 persons from 264 institutions attended the Conference, with 234 of this number appearing on the program.

Further details concerning the Conference may be obtained from Jonah W. D. Skiles, Conference Director, or from Paul K. Whitaker and Hobert Ryland, Associate Directors. Complete programs will be available early in March.

Namenforschung in Nordamerika

Die in Europa so eifrig betriebene Namenforschung ist bisher bei uns stiefmütterlich behandelt worden. Die 1951 in Detroit gegründete American Name Society und die seit März 1953 im Verlag der University of California Press erscheinende Zeitschrift *Names* scheinen hierin Wandel zu schaffen. "*Names*," sagt der bekannte Schriftsteller William Saroyan, "schließt eine Lücke in der amerikanischen Kultur."

Der erste Band der neuen Vierteljahrschrift liegt nun abgeschlossen vor und bietet eine Fülle von Material aus allen Gebieten der Onomatologie. Der Band wird eröffnet mit einem Aufsatz: "America — The Story of a Name," in dem der Name unseres Erdteils systematisch auf seine germanische Wurzel zurückgeführt wird. Die Zeitschrift unterscheidet sich von ähnlichen europäischen Veröffentlichungen dadurch, daß ihr Feld viel weiter gezogen ist. Nicht nur Orts- und Personennamen, sondern Namen im weitesten Sinne werden behandelt; nicht nur die Herkunft und Etymologie der Namen, sondern ihre Stellung und Bedeutung im menschlichen Leben und in unserer Kultur werden in Betracht gezogen. Mehr als der Namenforschung ist die Gesellschaft und ihr Organ der Namenkunde gewidmet.

Die Germanistik ist in dem neuen Unternehmen gut vertreten, eine Reihe von Mitgliedern unserer deutschen Abteilungen sind Mitglieder. Der Executive Secretary und Schriftleiter von *Names* ist Professor Erwin G. Gudde, der wiederholt Beiträge in den *Monatsheften* veröffentlicht hat. Madison S. Bealer, der Verfasser des Artikels über die Etymologie des Namens Amerika, Professor of German an der Universität von California, ist Mitglied des Editorial Board.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Symbolik des Märchens. Versuch einer Deutung.

Von Hedwig von Beit. Bern: A. Francke AG., 1952. 792 S. Br. Fr. 100.—. Gb. 105.—.

Das Märchen gehört zu den ältesten literarischen Formen der Menschheit, und seine Beziehungen zum menschlichen Uerleben sind deshalb gegeben und ahnungsweise jedem Hörer gegenwärtig geblieben. Die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Märchenforschung drückten dies Gefühl aus, als Wilhelm Grimm im Märchen „die Überreste eines in die älteste Zeit hinaufreichenden Glaubens“ sah, „der sich in bildlicher Auffassung übersinnlicher Dinge ausspricht.“ In ihren Einzelerklärungen verfielen die Brüder Grimm allerdings dem Irrtum, die Märchen von konkreten heidnischen Mythen ableiten zu wollen, die nach unserer heutigen Kenntnis freilich Märchenmotive enthalten, aber keineswegs die Vorstufe von Märchen darstellen. Märchenmotive sind älter als z. B. die Mythen der Edda, und die ethnologische Schule von Tylor und Lang drang in tiefere Schichten, als sie das Überallvorkommen gewisser Grundmotive aus der Gleichheit primitiver Bräuche, Riten und magischer Vorstellungen ableitete. Eine logische Weiterentwicklung war Bédiers These von ihrer Polygenese, die dem Suchen nach Urheimat und Urform jeglichen Sinn zu nehmen schien. Aber die Ubiquität konnte nur für die Einzelmotive gelten, nicht für die kunstvoll gegliederten Märchennovellen, deren Verbreitung über den Erdball doch nur durch Wanderung zu erklären ist und die nach wie vor Gegenstand einer vergleichenden literarischen Betrachtung bleiben muß. Die sich langsam ausbildende geographisch-historische Methode hat in den Anmerkungen zu den Grimmschen Märchen von Bolte und Polivka und in den Sonderuntersuchungen und Motivstatistiken (besonders in den finnischen „Folklore Fellows Communications“) grundlegende Arbeit geleistet und sich für die Erforschung der Typen und ihrer Verbreitung bewährt wie keine andere.

Die Verfasserin des vorliegenden Werkes berichtet über diesen Stand der Dinge mit einer gewissen Ungeduld, sie hat kein Interesse für die zünftige Märchenforschung und ihre dornenvollen Wege zu Urheimat, Entstehungszeit und Wanderschicksalen einer bestimmten Erzählung. Ihre Sympathie gilt vielmehr Außenseitern, die, unbeschwert von literarhistorischer Schulung, die Frage nach Sinn und Ursprung auf andere Weise zu beantworten suchten, wie Adolf Bastian, Rudolf Steiner und Siegmund Freud. Mit anderen Worten: sie sucht im Märchen nach „archetypischen“ Bildern allgemeinemenschlicher Herkunft, die weder an Rasse noch an Volk noch an Zeit gebunden sind. Daraus ergibt sich eine prinzipielle Rückkehr zu der Position Bédiers: Märchen aus aller Herren Ländern werden bei der Beweisführung durcheinandergewirbelt, ohne Rücksicht auf ihren ethnologischen und soziologischen Hintergrund, ihr Alter, ihre Technik, ihren Stil. Schlimmer ist, daß nirgendwo der Versuch gemacht ist, die älteste oder — nach Ansicht der Fachgelehrten — „beste“ Variante der Analyse zu Grunde zu legen; statt dessen wird diejenige genommen, die sich am besten den Ideen des Buches einfügen läßt. Der (unbewußte?) Widerstand gegen die Märchenphilologen geht so weit, daß auch deren Bemühen um Motiverklärung aus psychischen Erlebnissen ignoriert wird: z. B. hat Friedrich von der Leyen in den Vorstellungen des Traumes eine Quelle sehr vieler „märchenhafter“ Ereignisse zu erschließen gesucht, aber weder sein *Märchen* noch seine zahlreichen anderen Arbeiten über das Märchen werden zitiert, obwohl seine Sammlung der *Märchen der Weltliteratur* den Stoff für die Analysen geliefert hat.

Das von Beit'sche Buch stammt aus dem Kreise von Carl Gustav Jung, der Freuds Einseitigkeit ablehnt und in den Symbolen des Traumes und der Mythen nicht sexuelle Wunschphantasien sucht, sondern viel allgemeiner „den Ausdruck einer seelischen Grundstruktur, welche, unbewußt wirksam, die geistigen und trieb-

haften Funktionen der Seele veranlaßt“ (S. 13 f.). Gewisse Vorarbeiten von Jung selber und andere seiner Gefolgschaft haben das Rüstzeug der Methode geliefert, die nun in breitester Form auf das Märchen angewandt wird. Es ist offenbar, daß es sich mehr um die Bestätigung der Richtigkeit der Jung'schen Psychologie als um eine voraussetzungslose Erforschung der Symbolsprache des Märchens geht.

Das I. Buch bringt die „Profane und magische Welt und ihre Hauptgestalten“ (S. 19-331); das II. Buch heißt „Die Suchwanderung“ (S. 333-789); ein III. Buch soll behandeln: die Erlösung; die Manifestation der dualistischen Seelenkräfte als Brüder oder Kameraden; schließlich den Kampf der bewußten Welt gegen die der Dämonen „in noch anderer Form.“

Im I. Buche werden zunächst nacheinander besprochen die mannigfachen Erscheinungsformen *des magischen Ortes*. Wie bekannt, ist das Märchengeschehen erhaben über Ort und Zeit und ihre einschränkenden Gesetze. Der unbestimmte Ort – ob er nun auf der Erde, auf dem Mond, im Himmel, im Wasser oder in der Unterwelt gedacht ist – ist ein „Jenseits,“ das hier als „Land der Seele“ interpretiert wird, als Ort des Unbewußten und Ziel des Unbewußten (S. 21 ff.). – Vier magische Hauptgestalten („Archetypen“) werden sodann aus der Märchenhandlung abstrahiert: 1) *Der dämonische Vater*, eine Eltern-Imago, worunter nicht nur Vater, Großvater, Ahn, Gevatter, Lehrer und „der Zauberer“ zusammengefaßt werden, sondern auch alle Vatergottheiten wie der Sonnengott, der Himmels-gott, der Meeresgott, der Erdgott, aber auch der Waldgeist, der Schwarze Mann, der Tod. Der „Vater“ steht also für das Geistige, Schöpferische, hat aber auch den spukhaften Aspekt des Dämonischen und der Todesseite (S. 97 ff.). 2) *Die Große Mutter*, die entsprechende weibliche Eltern-Imago, ebenfalls mit Doppelaspekt: sie ist Mutter oder Hexe. Die Großmutter, Große Mutter, die göttlichen Mütter und Schicksalsfrauen, aber auch die Stiefmutter, die Todesmutter werden als Abwandlungen der Mutter-Imago aufgefaßt, die selber als Mutter-Geliebte eine Vorstufe des Anima-Bildes sei, aber auch die verschlingende tödliche Macht des Unbewußten darzustellen vermöge (S. 124 ff.). 3) *Der dämonische Sohn* des magischen Götterpaares, der als dunkler Bruder oder auch Gegenspieler des Helden auftreten kann (nach Jung ist er „der Schatten“). Er begegnet als Doppelgänger, Spiegelbild, tierischer Helfer, Berserker, usw. (S. 174). 4) *Die zauberische Tochter*, die geheimnisvolle Frau aus dem Jenseits (nach Jung „die Anima-Gestalt“). Die Anima ist die lebende Verbindung zum Jenseitsland, zum Ahnenreich. Sie personifiziert das Unbewußte des Mannes in weiblicher Form und hat ebenfalls ambivalenten Charakter, sie kann moralisch zweifelhaft sein, ja direkt das Böse darstellen (vgl. später S. 393, Anm. 3). Der Held kann sie zu einer magischen Ehe zwingen, indem er ihr z. B. das Federkleid raubt. Oder sie erscheint als erlösungsbedürftig und wird dem Helden als Belohnung zuteil. Aber oft geht sie ihm wieder verloren, d. h. sie verschwindet wieder ins Unbewußte (S. 241 ff.). – Im II. Buch erfährt man, daß in Märchen, welche besonders Ausdruck weiblicher Seelenprobleme sind, eine männliche Gestalt, ein „Animus“ entspricht: „Dieses archetypische Bild könnte man als den Niederschlag aller Erfahrungen der Frau mit dem Manne und darüber hinaus auch als die äußerlich nicht gelebte, innere männliche Komponente der Frau bezeichnen, besonders aber als Symbol und Antrieb ihres geistigen Lebens“ (S. 586). – Von der Anima unterschieden wird „das Selbst“ als Totalität der bewußten und unbewußten Psyche; es sei der Anima, die einzig das Unbewußte verkörpere, übergeordnet, sei nicht wie diese eine Naturerscheinung, sondern trage meist den Charakter eines Resultates, eines erreichten Zieles. In der mythischen Symbolsprache erscheine das Selbst als Kind, Blume, Rose, Stern, Viereck, Kreis, Kugel, Rad, Apfel, Sonne (S. 275). – Erst im II. Buche wird die naheliegende Frage gestellt, „wen eigentlich der Held, der Erlebende und Erleidende der Handlung, darstellt.“ Die Antwort wird aus der bekannten Märchenkonstellation vom Vater mit drei Söhnen abgeleitet, von denen der dritte ein Dümmling ist. Diese (abwandelbare) Vierheit von

Personen weise auf eine nicht weiter ergänzbare Totalität, auf deren Symbol, den viergeteilten Kreis. „Wenn man diese Märchensituation von einem solchen Aufteilungssystem (Fadenkreuz) aus betrachtet, wird der Held wie die Anima zur Teilfigur einer höheren psychischen Ganzheit, zu einem Bild für eine bestimmte Funktion“ (S. 338). Da es vier seelische Grundfunktionen gebe (Empfinden, Denken, Fühlen und Intuition), repräsentiere der Held innerhalb der Vierergruppe also eine Teilseele, die vierte Funktion, die an der Grenze des Unbewußten oder im Unbewußten verharre und, weil weniger ausgebildet, als „minderwertig“ und „tölpelhaft“ geschildert werde (S. 340 f.).

Wie schon aus den angegebenen Seitenzahlen hervorgeht, wird eine Überfülle an Material ausgebreitet, um den magischen Ort und die vier Urgestalten zu illustrieren. Aus meiner Zusammenfassung dürfte schon hervorgehen, daß eine wesentliche Eigenschaft der hier angewandten Methode der ungehemmte Hang zur Identifikation ist: alles wird miteinander gleichgesetzt, damit es in das aufgestellte Schema hineinpaßt. Und in der Tat hat das Märchen ja keine Personenfülle, und die auftretenden Personen lassen sich mehr oder weniger leicht in die obigen Kategorien pressen, da jede von ihnen „gut“ oder „böse“ sein kann. Nach v. B. sind die Urgestalten alle dämonisch, es wird nicht gefragt, ob z. B. eine böse Stiefmutter nicht auch menschlich gewesen sein könne. Die Märchenforschung hat das Auftreten der bösen Stiefmutter in orientalischen Märchen mit der Einrichtung des Harems in Verbindung gebracht. Solche Überlegungen, ob richtig oder falsch, kommen hier überhaupt nicht zu Wort, da die nationalen Charakteristika eines Typus vollkommen übersehen werden. Selbst wenn man gutwillig die drei ersten Hauptgestalten als Symbole akzeptiert, bei der vierten, der angeblichen Anima-Gestalt, dürften doch wohl die meisten Leser rebellieren. Ist wirklich jede Märchenprinzessin, von der ein Märchenheld träumt, zu deren Gewinnung er auszieht, zu deren Erlösung von irgendwelchem Zauber er Proben seines Mutes ablegen muß – seine Anima? Wir könnten Freud als Gegenzeugen zitieren, aber das ist wohl garnicht nötig. Wenn die gewonnene „dämonische“ Gattin sich dem Helden wegen eines Fehltritts, eines verletzten Schweigegebots und dergleichen wieder entzieht, so gibt es ebenfalls natürlichere Erklärungen (die ethnologische betr. Geheimhaltung von Stammeslehren, Initiationsriten; die psychologische aus den Ängsten des Traumes), sodaß wir uns fragen müssen: Wann ist ein (Jung'sches) „Symbol“ wirklich ein Symbol?

Die Arbeit macht den Versuch einer Selbstkontrolle: die unbewußten Formen und Gesetzmäßigkeiten spiegeln sich nach der Ansicht v. B.'s nicht bloß in den urtümlichen Bildern, sondern auch in den ganzen Abläufen der Erzählung (daher die vielen Wiederholungen von Episoden, daher der häufige Parallelismus): „Nur wenn sich eine Deutung völlig durchführen läßt, wenn sich der Sinn nicht allein im einzelnen Bild, sondern durch den ganzen Bewegungsablauf verfolgen läßt und wenn sich eine Sinneinheit aus der Fülle und den langen Serien von Motiven ergibt, darf man annehmen, daß das Wesentliche erfaßt ist. . . .“ (S. 15 f.).

Dieses an sich gesunde Prinzip führt aber nun dazu, daß nicht nur die Symbolhaftigkeit der Hauptgestalten aus dem Handlungsablauf bestätigt wird, sondern daß dieser in allen Details als symbolträchtig erscheint. Ich beschränke mich notgedrungen auf zwei Beispiele, die bekannte Grimm'sche Märchen betreffen. *Von dem Fischer und seiner Frau* (KHM 19) soll die Selbstüberhebung gegenüber den Gestalten der magischen Welt und ihre tragischen Folgen zum Ausdruck bringen. Einverstanden. Aber der Fischer ist hier das Bild des Kulturschöpfers, der geistige Werte aus der Sphäre des Seelischen (dem Meere) heraufholt (n. Jung). „Der Fisch ist als ‚Frucht‘ des Meeres ein Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit und des Lebens, es ist zukunfts kündend und eine Erscheinungsform der Seele. . . . Indem der Fisch inspirierende und nährende Funktion des Unbewußten bedeutet, symbolisiert er im eigentlichen Sinn jene Kraft, die jeden Wunsch in der Phantasie zu erfüllen vermag.

. . . (S. 226). Der Erfüller aller Wünsche kann kein gewöhnlicher Fisch sein, und er sagt ihm auch, er sei ein verzauberter Prinz; es ist somit in ihm ein menschliches Wesen höherer Art verborgen. . . . Der Fisch entspricht daher einem göttlichen Geist, der im Unbewußten verborgen ist und die Quelle aller Vorstellungskraft bildet. Der Fischer ist also einer Form des Urgeistes begegnet“ (S. 227). — Man beachte, wie die Argumentation, wenn sie wie hier auf Behauptungen reduziert wird, aus Gedankensprüngen besteht, die auf das gegebene Ziel, die eine oder andere der Jung'schen Definitionen führen. — So ist denn auch die habgierige Frau mehr als das weibliche Wesen, das intuitiv erfaßt, welche ungeheueren Möglichkeiten in dem glückhaften Fang gesteckt haben und noch stecken: sie symbolisiert vielmehr des Fischers eigene Machtgelüste, denen er nicht widerstehen kann, und er „verfällt immer mehr dem Unbewußten, einerseits dem Fisch und andererseits der Frau“ (S. 228). — Trotz aller Ausführlichkeit der Analyse erfährt der Leser nicht, daß es sich um ein bekanntes Motiv vom gefangenen Kobold in Fischgestalt handelt, das eine Parallele in dem „Geist in der Flasche“ in *1001 Nacht* hat; daß das Märchen in den Kreis der Märchen von den unvernünftigen Wünschen gehört; und daß sein besonderer unterscheidender Zug die Unersättlichkeit der Frau ist.

Das II. Buch, „Die Suchwanderung“, zerfällt in zwei Teile, „Die Fahrt des Helden“ (S. 335-583) und „Die Fahrt der Jungfrau“ (S. 585-789). „ . . . die ‚Große Fahrt,‘ die abenteuerreichen Suchwanderungen nach der ‚schwer erreichbaren Kostbarkeit,‘ dem Symbol des Selbst . . . spiegelt — psychologisch gedeutet — den Prozeß einer inneren Entwicklung in einem zeitlichen Hintereinander von Ereignissen. . . . Daß die ‚Heroen fast immer Wanderer sind,‘ sagt Jung, ‚ist ein psychologisch klarer Symbolismus: Das Wandern ist ein Bild der Sehnsucht, des nie rastenden Verlangens, das nirgends sein Objekt findet, denn es sucht die verlorene Mutter, ohne es zu wissen. . . . Der Mythos vom Helden aber ist, wie uns scheinen will, der Mythos unseres eigenen leidenden Unbewußten, das jene ungestillte und selten stillbare Sehnsucht nach allen tiefsten Quellen seines eignen Seins, nach dem Leibe der Mutter, und in ihm nach der Gemeinschaft mit dem unendlichen Leben in den unzähligen Formen des Daseins hat“ (S. 335 f.).

Um nicht wie der Märchenheld Gefahr zu laufen, mich völlig an die Bilder des Unbewußten zu verlieren, greife ich aus dem zweiten Teile des II. Buches das Märchen vom *König Drosselbart* (KHM 52) heraus, das mir seit mehr als dreißig Jahren vertraut ist wie kein anderes (vgl. meine Untersuchung *Der Märchentypus von König Drosselbart*, Folklore Fellows Communications 50, 1923). Ein wesentliches Ergebnis des Vergleichs der ungefähr hundert Varianten war ihre Scheidung in historisch und stilistisch verschiedene Schichten: abgesehen von einem kaum zugehörigen obszönen Typ ist eine Variantengruppe im „höfischen“ Geschmack die älteste, was die Zeugnisse angeht; die allgemeine Form des europäischen Märchens aber ist die „spielmännische“, die an Alter der höfischen Sproßform vorausliegen muß; schließlich darf man an das Vorhandensein einer germanischen Urform glauben. — Die Verfasserin bespricht (S. 595 ff.) das Märchen ohne Kenntnis dieser Schichten und sie wundert sich über eine schwankhafte Version, die allerdings wenig mit der „tiefen“ Ausdeutung gemeinsam hat: Die Prinzessin ist dem Vater-Animus verfallen, deshalb ist sie überkritisch gegenüber den Freiern, sie isoliert sich selber und wird überwältigt durch den Animus, d. h. die Vater-Imago zwingt sie zu der Ehe mit dem verkleideten Drosselbart. Wenn der Freier sich mit einem goldenen Spinnrädchen und einem goldenen Häspelchen ihre Gunst erkaufte, so sollen das Attribute der Weiblichkeit in der Hand des Animus sein, denen sich die Frau nicht entziehen kann. Wenn der Freier bei Grimm als Spielmann auftritt, dann zeigt sich seine Identität mit — Wodan (!), der als Führer der Wilden Jagd das Sturmlied singt, daß alle tanzen müssen. Diese phantastische mythologische Erklärung soll gestützt werden durch die Deutung des Namens Drosselbart als „Pferdebart“ (was meines Wissens über v. Negelein auf M. Jähns zurückgeht, aber reine

Spekulation ist). Zudem erinnere unser Märchen an Odins Brautwerbung um Rinda. Es wird nicht klargestellt, daß die Rinda-Geschichte märchenhafte Ausschmückung zeigt, wahrscheinlich doch in Abhängigkeit von *König Drosselbart*. Aber auch die Deutung auf die Drossel macht v. B. keine Schwierigkeit: die Drossel muß dann eine dämonische Rolle haben, als ein Symbol des Geistes und der Intuition und daher als typische Form der Anima-Gestalt (schon vorher, S. 236, wurde über den Vogel als Symbol des Gedankens und des Gedankenflugs gehandelt, weiter als Symbol des Wunsches, der Sehnsucht, der Ahnung, des Geistes überhaupt, und selbstredend der Seele). — Das öffentliche Feilhaltung von Töpferwaren, eine der demütigenden Aufgaben der Prinzessin, ist symbolisch zu verstehen als ein Exponieren ihrer Weiblichkeit (der Töpfe) an der Ecke des Marktes; der Spielmann zwingt sie, zu ihrer weiblichen Realität zu stehen. Das Zerschlagen der Töpfe ist ein wilder Ausbruch des Animus, ein Rückfall in die alte Haltung. — Die Episode der auf Geheiß des Spielmanns gestohlenen Nahrung ist der Ausdruck der Sehnsucht nach seelischer Nahrung aus der Sphäre des Animus. Usw. Ein Schlußparagraph versucht noch einmal die Identität des Freiers-Sängers-Spielmanns-Husaren mit Wodan zu erweisen.

Derartige Rückfälle in die Grimm'sche Mythologie sind leider öfter zu finden. Die wissenschaftlichen Handbücher der germanischen Mythologie sind dagegen nicht zu Rate gezogen. Sonst hätten grobe Fehler wie die Identifikation Logis mit Loki (S. 164, Anm. 3, u. S. 118), der ein Feuergott sein soll, vermieden werden können wie viele andere ähnliche Behauptungen (als Quellen für die mythologische Interpretation dienten hauptsächlich Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, und Ninn, *Wodan*). — Auch die gelegentlichen etymologischen Erklärungen wären besser einem Philologen vorgelegt worden; z. B. *betrachten* soll heißen 'trächtig machen,' während es doch von *tractare* kommt; griech. *lykos* 'Wolf' hängt nicht mit *lux* 'Licht' zusammen. — Recht störend für die Benutzung des Buches und bezeichnend für die unphilologische Haltung ist, daß die Grimm'schen Märchen nicht nach der Grimm'schen Anordnung zitiert werden, was allgemeiner Brauch ist, sondern nach der Ausgabe in den *Märchen der Weltliteratur*. Deren Prinzip der Anordnung nach Alter und Einflußperioden ist aber dann nicht genutzt worden.

Für die Märchenforschung ist aus dem voluminösen Werk leider wenig zu gewinnen. Bei der dogmatischen Grundhaltung müssen wir auch bezweifeln, ob die Symbolforschung wesentlich gefördert worden ist. Der Laie in psychoanalytischen Methoden wird von dieser Art der Mythendeutung jedenfalls abgeschreckt. Das Motto aus *Maximen und Reflexionen* dürfte auch die Ansicht der Märchenforschung ausdrücken, allerdings in einem anderen Sinne als dem im Buche vorgetragenem: „Alles ist einfacher, als man denken kann, zugleich verschränkter, als zu begreifen ist.“

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—Ernst Alfred Philippon

Ernst Jünger, eine Bibliographie.

By Karl O. Paetel. Stuttgart: Lutz & Meyer, 1953. 133 p. DM 9.60.

In fifteen sections Jünger's works in German and in translation, books on Jünger, books which treat Jünger along with other authors, articles in journals and newspapers, articles which deal with books about Jünger, radio lectures, and articles on Jünger in languages other than German are listed. For the convenience of the student of Jünger the articles in periodicals and newspapers are arranged alphabetically by author's name and divided into the period up to 1945 and the period from 1945 to 1951. The value of this division into periods will be immediately apparent to all students of Jünger. In addition unpublished articles and work in progress have been listed. While it has been impossible to check the accuracy of the hundreds of entries, a spot check reveals that all articles known to this reviewer are correctly listed. There are one or two minor misprints which do not detract from the usefulness or essential accuracy.

In a preface Paetel states that limitations of space prevented the making of a critical bibliography. This is especially to be regretted in view of the controversial nature of the subject matter. The aim of the bibliography is completeness of coverage, not critical arrangement, and on this basis it deserves unstinted praise. Nevertheless the nature of the "Jünger problem" and Paetel's own attitude suggest that what is needed is not so much the tabulation of every utterance relating to Jünger as a critical sorting of the significant from the trivial. Many of the titles alone suggest whether the critic's view is pro or contra, and this seems to be Paetel's chief concern, but the titles do not tell whether a serious mind is engaged in earnest criticism.

The introduction, perhaps inevitably because of the nature of Jünger's writings, is not without polemic overtones. Paetel may be justified to a degree in maintaining (p. 19): "... so muß heute zu Ernst Jünger Stellung genommen werden: im Ja oder im Nein!", but most American critics will seek a position between these extremes. In the paragraphs that follow, Paetel denies any sectarian tendencies on the part of Jünger or his followers. It is ironic and regrettably true, however, that an inner circle does exist and that Paetel is not in it. This introduction remains, nevertheless, a valuable essay, even if one does not accept all positions taken in regard to Jünger's place in modern letters.

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—Murray B. Peppard

Notker Studien, I, II, III.

By Alfred Karl Dolch (= *Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs*, No. 16). New York University, 1935-1952 (?). viii and 386 pp.

Professor Dolch's studies of Notker's *Boethius*, Book I, are divided into three parts: parts I and II appeared in 1935, part III in 1952 (or 1953). Part I is a Latin-Old High German Glossary of the first book of Notker's translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Part II is an Old High German-Latin vocabulary of the same text. Part III consists of excerpts from the author's materials on Notker's style and his sources. Professor Dolch hopes to present the remainder of these materials later.

Textual citations throughout are from Piper's edition of Notker (Tübingen, 1882-1883) because the Glossary was completed before the publication of the edition of Sehrt and Starck (Halle, 1933). However the latter edition carries indicators of Piper's paging so that references can be checked in it. The Glossary defines the Latin word, gives the Tatian translation, if there is one, and cites the passages in Notker in which the word occurs. Only Book I, about one-eighth, of the *Boethius* is included. The *Wörterverzeichnis* defines the Old High German word and refers to the Latin head-word where citations may be found. Only a specialist in Notker, which this reviewer is not, could properly evaluate the materials of Part III of this study.

A vast amount of devoted labor has gone into this undertaking, and the gratitude of all Germanists is due Professor Dolch and his supporters for the completion of this work.

University of Wisconsin.

—R-M. S. Heffner

Unity and Language: A Study in the Philosophy of Johann Georg Hamann.

By James C. O'Flaherty (= *University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures*, No. 6). Chapel Hill, 1952. 121 pp. Cloth, \$3.00, Paper, \$2.50.

Lowrie's biography of Hamann (1950) and the present book, O'Flaherty's doctoral dissertation in revised form, are the first two monographic treatments of Hamann in English. O'Flaherty deals with a most important and most difficult topic: Hamann's thoughts on language. These thoughts he sees as amounting to a theory of language containing three main assertions. First, every sense-unit of language is bipolar in that it consists of two heterogeneous elements (derived from

two different capacities of man's mind, that of perception and that of reflection), one represented by words related to objects (e. g. nouns), the other by words ("empty" or syntactical) related to relations between objects. Secondly, in man's "original" language these two elements formed a perfect unity, thus mirroring the same bipolar unity of the universe, in which objects and relations are equally real. Thirdly, as the result of a hypertrophy of man's reflective capacity, language becomes more and more "abstract," all its elements more and more "relational," till it no longer is able to reflect any but a unipolar, "abstract" universe. Thus, contrary to what many interpreters presented as Hamann's main linguistic problems, viz. the unity of language and thought, Hamann was primarily concerned with the problem of unity (of the objectual with the relational) *within* language.

O'Flaherty supports his argument with many quotations which prove both his thorough knowledge of Hamann and his skill as a translator.

While fully recognizing the value of O'Flaherty's investigations, the present reviewer would hesitate to follow his trend of thought. This hesitation results from following considerations. As Dilthey said, Hamann's main concern was to reconstruct man's condition of mind, in which both language and religion had originated. That condition could be described as that of a being which is sentient and thinking in one undistinguishable unity (and Hamann himself, in his style of writing and of living, impresses us as a man who thinks with his heart and senses with his brain) and therefore speaks a language in which there is no difference between literal or metaphorical meaning of either a scriptural passage or a historic event and in which things are immediately perceived as God's words and words are sensed as things. A being speaking that language knows nothing of the difference between believing and knowing (and much of what Hamann says is of that kind); and to such a being ordinary religious beliefs or disbeliefs, ordinary theoretical convictions, and ordinary emotional attitudes must appear as cerebrally pale or obscurely affected (as they indeed appeared to Hamann). If all this is true, is it at all in the spirit of Hamann to try to elicit from him a theory of language, whatever its content?

But Hamann is admittedly a very difficult writer; and not everybody will share the opinion of this reviewer that it would not add to the stature of Hamann if we could prove him in the possession of, or groping after any kind of system. Therefore the undertaking of O'Flaherty is entirely legitimate and his contributions, present and future, to Hamannian scholarship are highly welcome.

Scripps College and Claremont Graduate School

— Philip Merlan

George Ticknor's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*.

Edited, with Introduction and Critical Analysis, by Frank G. Ryder (= The University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 4). Chapel Hill, 1952. 108 pp.

Like a twentieth century Erich Schmidt, Professor Ryder, searching at Dartmouth in 1948, discovered the uncatalogued manuscript of *Werther* translated by Ticknor. Realizing its intrinsic as well as literary-historical significance, the finder has ably edited this eloquent testimonial to Ticknor's interest in that work which first brought Goethe international fame.

In his introduction the editor sketches Ticknor's academic career and pre-occupation with the German language and literature, culminating in Goethe and *Werther*. Although Ticknor frequently mentions the novel in his notebooks and journals, there is no contemporary reference to his translation. Only derogatory comments on English versions then current reflect his painstaking labor — of both love and scholarship, as witnessed by the notes. He used a copy of the original belonging to John Quincy Adams, himself a capable translator of Wieland's *Oberon*.

The text is complete, excepting certain brief omissions. An analysis of the

"quality of Ticknor's translation" includes illustrative comparisons from the renditions of Malthus, Render, and Pratt, the only ones circulating in America before 1850. If Ticknor is guilty of inaccuracies foreign to present-day translators, attention must be called to his modestly characterizing his effort as "my first real exercise in German." Stylistically he surpasses more correct successors, including Boylan (1854).

Aside from misinterpretations, Ticknor sometimes modified Goethe's phraseology on moral and religious grounds. Nevertheless, his translation is the first which admits application of "strict standards." Textual alterations show resemblances to Goethe's own tempering of the *Werther* of 1774 (Ticknor followed the 1787 revision). Moreover, the translator's affinity with "Wertherism," conscious or unconscious, seems undeniable.

Whoever reads *Werter* "in einem Zuge," is swept along by the charming style and general faithfulness to the spirit of Goethe's writing, despite inexactness. As the editor declares, this "distinguished translation" was produced by one "largely self-taught" in the language and working far away from Germany, "without model and without precedent."

The book is well documented, and its typographical accuracy merits commendation.

Louisiana State University.

— Carl Hammer, Jr.

Arminius or the Rise of a National Symbol in Literature.

By Richard Kuehnemund (= *University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures*, No. 8). Chapel Hill, 1953. pp. xxx and 122. Cloth \$3.50.

This study, extending the research of J. E. Riffert, P. von Hofmann-Wellenhof, Wolfgang Sydow, and Ernst Bickel, distinguishes itself particularly through an extremely lucid introduction — Germany and the Occidental "Oecumene." Admirably written, it is perhaps the most interesting part of the book.

The author treats his subject as a problem of cultural and politico-ideological history, its theme reflecting "the temper and spirit of the various epochs in Germany's tragically agitated history." He follows the theme from the Age of Humanism, where Arminius appears as the defender of his people's liberty and unity (Celtis, Hutten) towards the Thirty Years War with the idea of a hero's moral and domestic mission (Moscherosch, Rist), and the concept of the "magnanimous" hero and social idealism (Lohenstein) at the period of baroque romanticism. After rococo playfulness has lost any contact with the symbolic meaning of the national figure (using it as a plot of intrigue among lovers) E. A. Schlegel and Klopstock employ Arminius in their service of preaching cultural integration and cooperation. The Germans during the Napoleonic Wars with their struggle for national freedom and union saw in Arminius a symbol of virtuous and national greatness (Kleist) whereas Grabbe's unfinished and uneven satire "aims primarily at the renewed calamitous oppression of the German people — at the hands of their own, hereditary and reactionary leaders."

The Arminius theme in German literature has been treated poetically about 130 times between Hutten and the Second World War. We find more or less extensive references also to writers like Frischlin, Hagelgans, Justus Möser, Christoph Otto, Baron von Schönaich, Ayrenhoff, Wieland, and Fouqué.

Kühnemund succeeds very well in showing these Arminius versions to be expressions of periods moved by philosophical postulates, harassing events, or political ideals. Perusing this methodically exemplary and very thorough treatise, one might occasionally be inclined to think that it would have lost nothing by being more brief in relating the contents of various literary works, particularly where their literary significance stands no comparison to their extensive treatment.

The documentation in the appendix is most carefully and reliably done.

Colorado College.

— Thomas O. Brandt

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